

INDIAN CASTE

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BY THE LATE

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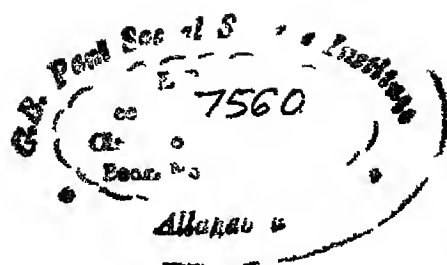
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NOTE.

WHEN Dr Wilson died in December 1875, he left no instructions as to the future disposal of the work on *Caste* on which he had been engaged at intervals for the last twenty years of his life. A cursory inspection of the vast mass of papers which Dr Wilson left led me to hope that ample material existed for a continuation of the work, if not for its absolute completion. Accordingly, after a delay caused by the necessity of going through all the papers for purposes connected with the winding up of the Estate, all those that seemed to appertain to Dr Wilson's literary activity were sent to Mr Andrew Wilson, into whose hands the task of completing the Book from material existing in manuscript would naturally have fallen. But the result of a careful investigation was to satisfy the family that nothing would be gained by attempting to add materially to the work as Dr Wilson left it, and, accordingly I was requested to have it brought

Dr Wilson had finally corrected the whole of the first volume of the work, and the second volume as far as the end of page 184. The material for pp 184-228 of the second volume, completing the account of the Brahmanical castes, existed partly in type, partly in manuscript. But these pages were not revised by the Author.

I should perhaps mention that a portion of the first volume has been in type since 1857.

An index of names and the more important subjects has been added.

PETER PETERSON, M.A.

Elphinstone College,
1st October, 1877

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INDIAN CASTE

PART FIRST.—WHAT CASTE IS

I.—INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

PRIDE of ancestry of family and personal position and occupation, and of religious pre eminence which, as will be immediately seen, is the grand characteristic of "Caste," is not peculiar to India Nations and peoples, as well as individuals, have in all countries, in all ages, and at all times, been prone to take exaggerated views of their own importance, and to clam for themselves a natural and historical and social superiority to which they have had no adequate title That spirit which led many of the olden tribes of men to consider their progenitors as the direct offspring of the soil on which they trode, as the children of the sun moon and other heavenly bodies in whose light they rejoiced, or as the procreations or manifestations of the imaginary personal gods whom they worshipped, has been very extensive in its influence throughout the world The higher communities and cla ses of men, ungrateful to Providence for their adva rages when real, have often looked with contempt and disdain on the lower while the lower have looked with envy jealousy, and depreciation on the higher Comparatively few individuals, indeed

the sphere of the observation of our own great poet, Shakespeare, it is

‘That monster Custom, who all sense doth eat
Of habits devil

It is dishonouring alike to the Creator of man, and injurious to man the creature. It is emphatically the curse of India and the parent of India's woes. It is the great enemy of enlightenment and improvement and advancement in India. It is the grand obstacle to the triumphs of the Gospel of peace in India. Its evil doings of late, it is not too bold to say, have moved earth below and heaven above and hell beneath. With its terrible deeds before us proclaiming its hate and power, attention may well be bestowed on its origin, developments, character, and results, and on our own duty with respect to its continued influence on Indian society.

II —THE MEANING, SPHERE, AUTHORITY, AND SYMBOLS OF CASTE

CASTE is not an Indian word. Its original form, *casta*, belongs to the Portuguese, by whom it was ordinarily used among themselves to express “cast,” “mould,” “race,” “kind,” and “quality.” It was applied by the Portuguese, when they first arrived in the East, to designate the peculiar system of religious and social distinc-

हे जातिभेद आहेत या योगाने हा हिंदुधर्म फार सुरक्षित राहिला आहे हे जाति-
भेद हा हिंदुधर्माचा मुख्य पाया आहे हा कथा काळीं दोसळेत त्या काळीं निखालस हिंदुधर्म
बडेल यांत संशय नाही —It is by means of these Caste distinctions that in
the Bharatkhanda the Hindu religion has been so well preserved
These Caste distinctions are the chief support of the Hindu religion
when it (this support) gives way there can be no doubt that the Hindu
religion will sink to destruction

tions which they observed among the Hindu people, particularly as founded on race* The Indian word which partially corresponds with Caste is *Jati* equivalent to the Latin *gens* (in the inflected form *gent*—) and Greek *γένος*, “race or nation,” while *Jati-bheda*, the representative of the foundations of the caste-system, means the “distinctions of race (*gentis discrimina*)” *Varna*, another word used for it by the Hindus, originally meant a difference in “colour” Gradually these Indian words, conveniently rendered by CASTE, have come to represent not only varieties of race and colour, but every original, hereditary, religious, instituted, and conventional distinction which it is possible to imagine. Caste has its peculiar recognitions,—though of a discordant character,—of creation, formation, constitution, and birth, in all varieties of existence and life, whether vegetable, brutal, human, or superhuman It gives its directions for recognition, acceptance, consecration, and sacramental dedication, and *vice versa*, of a human being on his appearance in the world It has for infancy, pupillage, and manhood, its ordained methods of sucking sipping, drinking, eating, and vomiting, of washing, rinsing, anointing, and smearing, of clothing, dressing, and ornamenting of sitting

* Thus, in describing the people of Malabar, Camoens (*Lusiad* Cant VII 37) says —

A lei da gente toda, rica, e pobre
De fabulas composta se imagina
Andam nus, e somente hum panno cobre
As partes, que a cobrir natura ensina
Dous modos ha de genti., porque a nobre
Nomes chamados suo e a nichos dina
Pelaes tem por nome, a quem obriga
A lei não misturar a casta antiqua

rising, and reclining of moving, visiting, and travelling, of speaking reading, listening, and reciting and of meditating singing, working, playing, and fighting It has its laws for social and religious rights, privileges, and occupations, for instructing, training and educating, for obligation, duty, and practice, for divine recognition, service, and ceremony, for errors, sins, and transgressions, for intercommunion, avoidance, and excommunication, for defilement, ablution, and purification, for fines, chastisements, imprisonments, mutilations, banishments and capital executions It unfolds the ways of committing what it calls sin, accumulating sin, and of putting away sin, and of acquiring merit, dispensing merit, and losing merit. It treats of inheritance, conveyance, possession, and dispossession, and of bargains, gain, loss, and ruin It deals with death, burial, and burning, and with commemoration, assistance, and injury after death It interferes, in short, with all the relations and events of life, and with what precedes and follows, or what is supposed to precede and follow life It reigns supreme in the innumerable classes and divisions of the Hindus, whether they originate in family descent, in religious opinions, in civil or sacred occupations, or in local residence, and it professes to regulate all their interests, affairs, and relationships Caste is the guiding principle of each of the classes and divisions of the Hindus viewed in their distinct or associated capacity A caste is any of the classes or divisions of Hindu society

The authority of Caste rests partly on written laws, partly on legendary fables and narratives, partly on verbal tradition, partly on the injunctions of instructors and priests, partly on custom and usage, and partly on the

caprice and convenience of its votaries. 'The roots of law,' says Manu, "are the whole Veda the ordinances and observances of such as perfectly understand it, the immemorial customs of good men, and self-satisfaction." "No doubt that man who shall follow the rules prescribed in the *Shruti* [what was heard, from the Veda] and in the *Smriti* [what was remembered, from the Law] will acquire fame in this life, and in the next inexpressible happiness." "Custom is transcendent law."* The rules, and customs, and prejudices, and breaches, and offences, and concessions and intermissions, and compromises of Caste are numerous and capricious, and complicated beyond conception. They are constantly characterized by pride and folly, and frequently by wickedness.

Caste has its marks, and signs, and symbols and symbolical acts, as well as its laws and customs, and very great stress is laid by it on their constant exhibition. The grand index of Hinduism is the tuft of hair on the crown of the head—called in Sanskrit *chuda*, or *shukhá*, in Marathí *shendi*, and in Tamul *kudamē*,—which is left there on the performance of the sacrament of tonsure, on the first or third year after birth in the case of the three first classes of the Hindus †. In consequence of this mark, Hinduism is popularly known as the *Shendi-dharma*, or religion of the *Shendi* ‡. In the eighth year after the conception of a Bráhmaṇ (the representative of the priestly class), in the eleventh from that of a prince or *Kshatriya*, and in the twelfth from that of a *Vish* or *Vaishya*, the agriculturist and mer-

* Manu, ii. 6, ii. 9, i. 108

† See Manu, ii. 85.

‡ See Molesworth's Marathí Dictionary, sub voc

chant, the investiture with the sacred cord should occur * though this sacrament, in the case of these classes particularly eager for its special blessings, may be resorted to by them in their fifth, sixth, or eighth year respectively † It should never be delayed in the case of a *Brāhman* beyond his sixteenth year, nor in that of a *Kshatriya*, beyond his twenty second, nor in that of a *Vaishya* beyond his twenty fourth ‡ This investiture must be hallowed by the communication of the *Gayatri*, the verse of the Vedas esteemed most sacred The parties who neglect it are to be reckoned apostates and outcasts § with whom no connexion is to be formed either in law or affinity, even by *Brāhmans* distressed for subsistence The sacrificial strings of each class have to be formed after a fashion prescribed in the Law Books Certain orders as to the clothes to be worn, and the staves to be carried issued as authoritative in ancient times are now in abeyance though long established custom reigns supreme in these matters The brow of every Hindu must be marked, at least when he is in a state of ceremonial purity, with various pigments indicative of his particular caste, and sectarian connexions as a worshipper of particular gods and goddesses in their varied forms.¶ These marks are spots and dots and figures of particular size and shape, and lines horizontal and vertical, as the caste regulations may require An engraving

* Manu, ii 36

† Manu, ii 37

‡ Manu, ii 38

§ पविता वात्या Manu, ii 39

¶ "He, who not entitled to distinguishing marks yet lives by wearing such marks, takes to himself the sins of those who are entitled to such marks, and shall be born from the womb of a brute animal Manu iv 200

illustrative of some of them is given in one of the plates of Moor's Hindu Pantheon. They suggest to a Christian an apt illustration of the figurative expression of the Book of Revelation, the "mark of the beast in the forehead."

III — ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE FOUR ORIGINAL CASTES OF THE HINDUS

According to the opinions of the Hindus deemed by them orthodox, the original Castes were four in number — that of the *Bráhmans*, or priestly class, that of the *Kshatriyas* or warrior class, that of the *Vaishyas*, or Mercantile and Agricultural class, and that of the *Shúdras*, or Servile Class.

"For the sake of preserving the universe," says Manu, "the Being supremely glorious allotted separate duties to those who sprang respectively from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot. To *Bráhmans* he assigned the duties of reading [the Veda], and teaching it, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms, and of receiving gifts.* To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read [the Veda], to shun the allurements of sexual gratification are in a few words, the duties of a *Kshatriya*. To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, are the duties of a *Vaishya*. One principal duty the Supreme Ruler assigns to a *Shudra*, namely, to serve the before mentioned classes, without depre-

* These are the Six constituted Works of the Brahmana, techni-

ciating their worth * A similar origin and similar duties are ascribed to the Four Castes in the Shanti Parva of the Mahābhārata, † in the Matsya, Bhagavata, and several others of the Puranas ‡ in the Jāti Mālā, or Garland of Castes, of authority in Bengal and the Upper Provinces of India, § in the Jāti Viveka, or Discrimination of Castes of authority in the West of India, || and in the Sahyadri Khanda of the Skanda Purāna, the great practical authority of the Marātha Brahmans ¶ This, in fact, is the view taken of the origin of the four classes by the Caste system now prevalent throughout the whole of India All other passages of the Shastrias, with representations on the subject of a different character,—and such there are in abundance,

* *Manu* 1 87 91 In this and other quotations from the Hindu Law Book, I mainly follow Sir William Jones omitting such of his expletives as are not warranted by the text and bringing the renderings sometimes closer to the original

† *Mahabharata*, *Shanti Parva* adh 72 v 272o Different accounts of the origin of Caste are given in other works including the Puranas and the *Mahabharata*, which, to use the words of Dr John Muir, (*Original Sanskrit Texts* p 87) ‘ is made up of very heterogeneous elements, the products of different ages and representing widely different dogmatical tendencies which have been thrown together by the successive compilers or editors of the work without any regard to their mutual consistency’

‡ In the *Matsya* (adh 4) Vandevas is the name given to the god (*bhagavan* “the worshipful”) who (as Brahma according to the context) created the Castes — वामदेवस्तु भगवानस्तज्जन्मवतो द्विजान् राजन्यान् यस्तज्जन्माद्वीर्येन ब्रह्मरूपपात्न्यौ In the *Bhagavata*, the most orthodox view of the origin of Caste is given in *Skanda* III adh v 33 34

§ *Colebrooke's Essays*, vol II p 177

|| There are two forms of this work now before me, the larger and smaller—

¶ *Sahyadri Khanda* Ad. Ed. 4 C 21 2

as will afterwards appear—are contorted and interpreted in the light of the dogmas here announced. Caste, to the present day adheres to its claims as set forth in Manu, without essential compromise or concession.

To understand the subject of Caste, then we have to keep the statements now quoted constantly in view. For the same purpose, we have to look to the information given in detail in the Shástras of the Hindus respecting the prerogatives, privileges, and duties of these the primary divisions of Caste, and which is still approved and acted upon with very slight modifications in form, throughout the whole country. This we attempt concisely to do.

1. We give a miniature picture, in the first instance of the *Brahman*.

The Shástras dwell much on the pre-eminence of the Brahman both by birth and original endowments, above all the other classes of man. Since the Bráhma sprang from the most excellent part, since he was the first born and since he possesses the Veda, he is by right the chief of this whole creation. “Him, the Being who exists of himself produced in the beginning from his own mouth that having performed holy rites, he might present clarified butter to the gods, and cakes of rice to the progenitors of mankind for the preservation of this world. What created being then can surpass Him with whose mouth the gods of the firmament continually feast on clarified butter, and the manes of ancestors on hallowed cakes? The very birth of Bráhmans is a constant incarnation of (God of religion) for the Brahman is born to promote religion.

springs to light, he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures assigned to guard the treasury of duties religious and civil. Whatever exists in the universe is all in effect, the wealth of the Brāhman, since the Brāhman is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth. The Brāhman eats but his own food, wears his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms through the benevolence of the Brāhman indeed other mortals enjoy life.* His inherent qualities, however sparingly they may be developed, are "quiescence, self control, devotion, purity, patience, rectitude, secular and sacred understanding, the recognition of spiritual existence, and the inborn-disposition to serve Brahma.† In every member of his body, power and glory are resident. The purifying Ganges is in his right ear, his mouth is that of God himself, the devouring fire is in his hand, the holy *tīrthas*, or places of pilgrimage are in his right foot,‡ the cow of plenty (*kāmadhenu*) from which all desires may be satisfied, is in the hairs of his body. The Brahman is the "first born, by nature (*agrayanma*), the "twice born (*dwija*), by the sacrament of the *maunji*, the "deity-on-earth (*bhūdeva*), by his divine status, and the intelligent one (*vipra*), by his innate comprehension §

* Manu, i 93 95 c 101

† Bhagavad-Gītā, xviii 42

‡ These are among the common synonyms of the Amarkosha Khanda ii, brahmavarga 4

§ The following verse from the Tīrtha Mahātmya has become popular —

पथिव्या यानि तीर्थानि तानि तीर्थानि सागरे ।

सागरे सर्व तीर्थानि पदे विप्रस्य दक्षिणे ॥

All the *Tīrthas* in the world are in the ocean

All the *Tīrthas* in the ocean are in the Brāhman's right foot

The Brahman, thus exalted in original position, is according to the Shástra, superior to all law, even of a moral character, whenever it clashes with his wordly interests. Even truth and honesty must be dispensed with for his peculiar advantage. "In the case of sensual gratifications," says Manu, "of marriages, of food eaten by cows, of fuel for a sacrifice, of benefit or protection accruing to a Brahman, there is no sin in an oath" * "A Brahman says the same authority, "may live by *vata* and *amrita*, or by *mrita* and *pramrita*, or even by *sat yámrita* (truth and falsehood) 'but never let him subsist by dog-living' (hired service)"† "A Bráhmaṇ may without hesitation take the property of a Shudra. He (the Shudra) has, indeed, nothing of his own his master may, doubtless, take his property"‡ To this in justice, too, the most horrid cruelty may in his case be added, for of the most barbarous treatment of the lower orders, and, unbecoming leniency to Bráhmans, the Hindu sacred writings are in no degree ashamed. They actually enjoin this atrocious despotism. "A priest shall be fined five hundred (*panas*), if he slander a soldier, twenty-five, if a merchant, and twelve, if he slander a man of the servile class. For abusing one of the same class a twice born man shall be fined only twelve, but for ribaldry not to be uttered, even that shall be dou-

Hence, the readiness to taste the water in which a Bráhmaṇ has washed his foot. In the Padma Parána (Kriyá yadnasára xx) it is said

विप्रपादोदकं यस्तु कण्ठमाहवज्जर । देहस्य पातकं तस्य सबन्धेषु नश्यति ॥

—The bearer of a drop of water which has been in contact with a Bráhmaṇ's foot has all the sins of his body thereby destroyed

* Manu, viii 112

† Manu, iv 4

‡ Manu, viii 417

bled A once born man who insults the twice-born with gross invectives ought to have his tongue slit, for he sprang from the lowest part of Brahmá. If he mention their name and class with contumely, as if he say 'Oh! Devadatta (useless gift of God!) an iron style, ten fingers long shall be thrust red hot into his mouth

Should he, through pride, give instructions to priests concerning their duty, let the king order some hot oil to be dropped into his mouth and ear * "A man of the lowest class, who shall insolently place himself on the same seat with one of the highest, shall either be banished with a mark on his hinder part or the king shall cause a gash to be made on his buttock, should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both of his lips to be gashed should he [decency requires the suppression of what here follows] If he seize the Brahman by the locks, or by the feet, or by the beard or by the throat, or by the scrotum, let the king without hesitation cause incision to be made in his hands † Ignominious tonsure is ordained, instead of capital punishment, for an adulterer of the priestly class, while the punishment of other classes in this case may extend to loss of life "Never shall a king slay a Brahman, though convicted of all possible crimes, let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure and his body unhurt No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahman, and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind a idea of killing a priest ‡ "A Bráhmaṇ, who, by his

* Manu, viii 268 272

† Manu, viii 281 3-28

‡ Manu viii 379 381

power and through avarice, shall cause twice born men, girt with the sacrificial thread, to perform servile acts, with their consent, shall be fined by the king six hundred *panas*. But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, he may compel to perform servile duty, because such a man was created by the self-existent for the purpose of serving Brahman. A *Shudra*, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude for of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested? * The Bráhmaṇ, even, is the adjudicator in his own cause and need make no complaint to royal authorities for the punishment of his enemies, it being left free to himself to take vengeance †

The Brahman, as themselves the great authors of the preceptive parts of the Hindu Shastras, have no feeling of shame whatever in stating their pretensions and urging their prerogatives. Only they must now read and interpret the Veda, which they profess to be the highest revelation of the will of God. Then wrath is as dreadful as that of the gods in heaven. They and their wives, and daughters, are to be worshipped as gods on earth ‡. They allege that they have in many instances,

* Manu, viii. 124-14

† Manu, xi. 31-32

‡ सर्वथा ब्राह्मणा पुण्या परम देवत इति च 'In all ways, Bráhmaṇs are to be worshipped they are a Supreme Divinity. Manu, ix. 318. In the *Padma Puraṇa* (*Kriya yadnasara* २८) it is said, "The good man who worships a Bráhmaṇ, moving round him to the right hand obtains the merit of himself going round the seven *dwipas* (insular continents) of the world. In the same work, it is said that 'immoral Bráhmaṇs are to be worshipped, but not *Shúdras* though subduing their passions the cow that eats things not to be eaten is better than the sow of good intent

kicked, and beaten, and cursed and frightened and degraded the highest deities, and distressed and destroyed their children. One of their number, *Kashyapa*, they tell us, was the parent of the sun, and another, *Atri*, of the moon. Others of them, they hold, wrought great marvels in creation and formation. *Brihaspati*, the instructor of the gods, is said by them to have turned the moon into a cinder, for two kalpas of enormous length, and to retain his power over it by covering it with rust, when it assumes a ruddy appearance. *Vishvakarma*, they declare, clipt off the hands and feet of the sun, to make it round, and cut it also into twelve pieces, in which it appears in the twelve signs of the zodiac. The same individual, the architect of the gods, they assert, formed heaven, and another of his caste manufactured a child of grass, which *Sítá*, the wife of *Ráma*, could not distinguish from her own son. *Kashyapa*, already mentioned, they make, through his different wives, the parent of fowls, of beasts of prey, of buffaloes, cows, and other cloven footed animals, of hawks, vultures, and other similar birds, of the *Apsaras*, or water-nymphs, serpents, and other reptiles, of trees, of evil beings, of the *Gandharvas*, and of animals with hoofs.* He, also, they tell us, made fire, while *Bhrigu* imparted to it its property of consumption, and *Sapta* gave it its capability of extinction, and *Agastya*, the great Brahman missionary to the South of India, swallowed up the ocean at three sips, and then passed it impregnated with salt. The achievements of the great Brahmans here referred to are thus alluded to by the Hindu lawgiver — ‘Who without perishing could pro

voke those holy men by whom the all-devouring fire was created the sea with waters not drinkable, and the moon with its wane and increase? what prince could gain wealth by oppressing those, who, if angry, could frame other worlds and regents of worlds, and could give being to new gods and mortals? What man, desirous of life would injure those by the aid of whom worlds and gods perpetually exist."* The following syllogism has gained universal currency in India —

The whole world is under the power of the *gods*,
 The gods are under the power of the *mantras*,
 The *mantras* are under the power of the *Bráhma*n,
 The *Bráhma*n is therefore our God."†

These fabrications, which appear to us so ridiculous, were intended to secure to the Brahmans veneration and awe. The endeavour, also, has been made in the *Shás*tra to secure to them their lives. They must not be killed, as we have seen, for the most enormous offences. When an individual weeps for any person whom they may have killed, he must make an atonement for his infirmity. The goddess *Durgá* is pleased with the blood of a man a thousand years, but no Brahman must be sacrificed to her. *Garuda*, the bearer of *Vishnu*, used to eat every sort of creatures except Brahmans, who if swallowed, would have caused an insufferable pain in his stomach, as is said to have been exemplified on a particular occasion. While *Shudras* may offer themselves as sacrifices by what is called the *Kámya marana* (voluntary

* *Manu* ix 314 316

† देवाधीनं जगत् सर्वं मंत्राधीनं च देवत ।
 ते मंत्रा ब्राह्मणाधीना ब्राह्मणो मम देवता ॥

death), Bráhmans are not required to make any such consecration of themselves "A twice-born man," says Manu, "who barely assaults a Bráhman with an intention to hurt him shall be whirled about for a century in the hell named *Támsa* but having smitten him in anger, and by design, even with a blade of grass, he shall be born in one and twenty transmigrations from the wombs of impure quadrupeds"* Life however, must not only be preserved exceptionally for the favoured, but it must be rendered comfortable The Bráhmans get all the offerings made at the temples, and the most heinous sins are atoned for by giving them presents If a man sell his cow, he will go to hell, if he give her in donation to a Brahman he will go to heaven If on Gangá's anniversary whole villages be given to Bráhmans, the person presenting them will acquire all the merit which can be obtained his body will be a million of times more glorious than the sun, he will have a million of virgins, many carriages, and palanquins with jewels, and he will live in heaven with his father as many years as there are particles in the land given to Brahman. Land given to Bráhmans secures heaven, a red cow, a safe passage across the boiling infernal river, *Vaitarani* a house, a heavenly palace, an umbrella, freedom from scorching heat, shoes, freedom from pain when walking, perfumes, freedom from offensive smells, feasting of Bráhmans particularly at births, marriages and deaths, the highest merit If a house be defiled by an unclean bird sitting down upon it, it becomes pure when presented to a Bráhman. A proper gift to a Bráhman on a deathbed will

* Manu, iv 165 166

secure heaven to a malefactor The Brahmans oblige the other castes, in fact when they condescend to receive their presents * Money given to them should be dipped in water, lest the latent glory of their hands should burst forth and consume the donor †

Most obvious is it that the legislation of the Brahmans, embracing such matters and supported by such legends as those now alluded to has originated exclusively with their own body Its partialities, and preferences, and prejudices are of the grossest character Along with these enormous faults, however it is but fair to look at the strict discipline, continuous ceremoniousness and rigid austerities, which in certain circumstances —associated with numerous puerilities,—it has prescribed for its favourites

In the first *Ashrama*, or Order that of the *Brahmachári*, or Pupil the Bráhman boy, must render the greatest reverence and attention to his priestly instructor, observing constant oblations, and practising unceasing restraints of his appetites His religious exercises must commence with the morning twilight, and, except during the times of study and eating, they must be con

* The imparting of gifts (*dana*) is quite a science according to the institutions of Caste, which, as far as this matter is concerned, are collected and explained, in all their particularities in the Law Book entitled the *Dána Mayukha*

† In thus mentioning the pretensions of the Bráhmans, I have availed myself of and expanded the notices contained in my two Exposures of Hinduism in reply to Brahmanical controversialists. To natives of India acquainted with the Maráthí language I would warmly recommend Mr Nesbit's tract on the Brahmans Claims, which appeared after the Exposures were published, and in which some of the popular aspects of the subject are commented on in a telling way

tinued throughout the day ' Let the twice-born youth,' it is said, " who has been girt with the sacrificial cord collect wood for the holy fire, beg food of his relations, sleep on a low bed, and perform such offices as may please his preceptor until his return to the house of his natural father * With devotion and austerities he is ordered to study the Veda. He is commanded to abstain from honey, flesh peumes, garlands, vegetable juices, women acidulated substances the killing of animated beings, unguents for his limbs black powder for his eyes, wearing sandals, using an umbrella, sensual desires, wrath, covetousness dancing, singing, dice, disputes, detraction, and falsehood.† He is enjoined to sleep alone, and to perform the duty of a religious mendicant

In the second Order, that of the *Grihastha* or Householder, after the Brahman has chosen, or got chosen, for his wife, a girl whose form has no defect, who has an agreeable name, who walks like a goose,‡ or young elephant, whose hair and teeth are moderate in quantity, and whose body is distinguished by softness, and who, in the case of the first marriage at least, should be of the Brahman class§ he should live with her in the strictest fidelity, giving her elegant attire, though not from the most exalted motive,¶ seeking to raise up a family, embracing especially a son, without whom, na-

* Manu, ii 108 The other statements here made are on the authority of the context

† Manu, ii. 167 178

‡ Sir W Jones makes this a phœnicopteros, or adjutant bird The Sanskrit, however, is *hansa*, a goose.

§ Manu, iii 12, 17, etc

¶ Manu, iii 68

tural or adopted, the salvation of a father cannot be effected* He has to practise unceasingly various minute and burdensome rites and ceremonies connected with study, oblations to fire the presentation of food to spirits, through animated beings particularly the "twice-born," the entertainment of Brahmanical guests and the offering of rice and water to the manes of ancestors.† At the *Shrāddhas*, or reverential feasts and services performed either for ancestors or for gods he has to avoid inviting or holding intercourse with parties labouring under any disease, deformity, impotency or defect (held under the doctrine of the metempsychosis to be the consequence of past crimes) despising Brahmanical institutes, or following employments uncongenial with the Brahmanical doctrines and practices or guilty of crime‡ During the feasting, he has to preserve his mind in absolute composure for the shedding

Though the Sanskrit for son, is *putra*, the reciprocal word for *pitā*, (*Lat pater* a father,) the following fanciful derivation of it, founded on this doctrine, is given by Manu, (ix 138) — Since the son delivers (*trayate*) relieves his father from the hell named *put* he was therefore called *putra* by Brahma himself!

† Manu, iii 70, et seq

‡ Among the parties thus to be avoided are the attendants upon images (*devalakā*), the sellers of nesh the party supporting himself by traffic a young brother married before the elder or vice versa, a dancer the husband of a Shudra, the pupil or preceptor of a Shudra a seller of the moon plant (used in sacrifices), a navigator of the ocean an enconniast, an oilman a maker of bows and arrows a father instructed in the Vēda by his son a tamer of elephants bulls horses or camels, an astrologer, a keeper of birds, a breeder of sporting dogs a shepherd a keeper of buffaloes the husband of a twice married woman Manu iii 150-167

of a tear would send the messes before him to restless spirits anger, to foes falsehood to dogs contact with the foot (*pada sparsha*), to Rakshasas, and agitation to scoundrels * At the same time, he has to regale his silent guests with readings from the Veda, from the institutes of law (*Dharma Shāstra*) from stories from historical poems (*Itihāsa*, generally applied to the *Mahabharata*), from antiquities (*Purānas*), and from other scriptures † At these ceremonial offerings animal food, to be ate by the company, is declared to be of more avail in the work of propitiation than vegetables a fact which the Brahmans of the present day are shy in admitting ‡ He has to be most particular about the times of the month and day of his religious services ‘ He must live with no injury or with the least possible injury, to animated beings by pursuing those means of gaining subsistence which are strictly prescribed by law, except in times of distress § He has to keep his hair, nails and

* Manu iii 230

† Ibid iii 232

‡ The ancestors of men are satisfied a whole month with *tila* rice barley black lentils o vetches water roots and fruit given with prescribed ceremonies two months with fish three months with venison four with mutton five with the flesh of *such* birds as the twice born may eat six months with the flesh of kids seven with that of spotted deer or the antelope called *ena* nine with that of the *mura* ten months are they satisfied with the flesh of wild boars and wild buffaloes eleven with that of rabbits or hares and of tortoises a whole year with the milk of cows and food made of that milk from the flesh of the long eared white goat then satisfaction endures twelve years. Manu iii 267–271

§ Manu iv 2 The fourth chapter in many respects corresponds with the third. It now appear to me to have originally belonged to two different Code.

beard clipped, his passions subdued, his mantle, white, and his body pure* He must not gaze on the sun whether rising or setting (unless in religious services), or eclipsed or reflected in water, or advanced to the middle of the sky He must be reserved in his intercourse with his wife, and neither eat with her, nor see her eating He must neither dishonour earth, nor fire, nor water He must not dwell under the government of a Shudra He must neither dance nor sing, nor play on musical instruments or with dice He must not use the clothes or vessels which have been used by another, till they are purified The beasts with which he travels must be sound, and well trained, and he must never bestride a member of the bovine race He must not cut his own nails or hairs He has to be sober in his speech and conduct He has to accept gifts only from Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, and never from Shudras† He has to observe religious ceremonies at night (when awake), and at morn, noon, and evening He has to keep at a distance from the destroyers of animals and vegetable seeds not simply used in food He must suspend the reading of the Védas during thunder, rain, earthquakes, and other atmospheric and terrene changes and movements He must intermit the reading of the Veda for a day and night when a beast of labour, a frog, a cat, a dog, or a snake passes between him and his pupil‡ He is commanded to abstain from iniquity, lest he

* Manu, iv 35 37

† This is not now the case as will be afterwards explained.

‡ I once asked a learned Pandit what inference he was disposed to draw from this injunction He very adroitly said, 'I should infer that the teacher and pupil hold a very close connection—'

should be punished for it either in his own person or in those of his descendants. His moral duties he has to prefer to his ceremonial acts though great exceptions, elsewhere noticed, are made to this rule. He is not permitted to take food from a servile man except raw grain for a single night when it may be necessary for the support of his life. He has to be liberal in giving gifts to those deserving of benevolence and he is not to be too proud of his charity. "By falsehood, sacrifice becomes vain by pride, austerities go for nought, by the dishonour of priests, life is diminished and by the display of charity, its fruit is destroyed." In regard to food, the householder as well as other Brahmans, has to show the greatest scrupulosity. He must avoid eating garlic, onions, leeks, and mushrooms,† and all vegetables raised in dung though the vegetable processes know no impurity, red gums and resins, supposed to be like the blood of animals and carnivorous birds and quadrupeds, and many others of different orders. He might, according to one law, partake of the hedgehog, porcupine, some species of lizards, hares, and all quadrupeds, camels excepted, which have

* Manu, iv 204. See authorities for the preceding statements in the context

† It is difficult to see the reason of the interdiction of the use of these vegetables, unless perhaps it is to be found in their strong smell, especially when imperfectly cooked. The crime of eating them seems to have been a peculiarly heinous one with the Hindu legislators. "The twice-born who has intentionally eaten a mushroom, the flesh of a tame hog, or a tame-cock, a leek, or an onion, or garlic, is degraded immediately." Atonements are available for undesigned eating Manu, v 19 20

but one row of teeth * According to another, he might use considerable latitude in the use of flesh meat — ‘No sin is committed by him who, having honoured the deities and the manes eats flesh meat which he has bought, himself acquired, or had presented to him by another † Yet without these religious rites, he would contract great sin by encouraging the slaughter of animals, which in the main, is strongly disapproved of by the legislators and not now generally resorted to ‡ He has to submit to great inconveniences from ceremonial defilement caused by the birth and death of relatives and connections of various degrees, and by the touch of the lowly Chandala and of all parties in a state of ceremonial impurity § The duties prescribed for the Brahman householder, in short are such as must keep him ever busy, ever on the alert, and ever scrupulous and cautious

The *Vânaprastha* the Hermit of the Wilderness the Brahman in the third *Āshrama* must be a vast deal more self-denied and restricted than the Householder At the approach of old age he must abandon his family and

* *Manu* v 18

† *Manu* v 32

‡ The general doctrine of *Manu* on this subject may be understood from the following passages — Flesh meat cannot be procured without injury to animals, and the slaughter of animals obstructs the path to beatitude from flesh meat it therefore let man abstain He who consents to the death of an animal he who kills it he who dissects it he who buys it, he who sells it he who dresses it he who serves it up and he who makes it his food these are eight principals in the slaughter *Manu* v 48 51

§ *Manu* v 85 et seq For the special laws on these matters see the *Mayukha* under *Shoucha* and *Ashoucha* (purity and impurity)

worldly affairs He must not only feed on herbs, fruits, and roots, but use them in sacrifice He must wear a black antelope's hide, or a vesture of the bark of a tree and suffer his hair, beard, and nails to grow continually He must be constantly engaged in reading the Veda and in other religious-exercises His devotion must be varied by austerities "Let him slide backwards and forwards on the ground or let him stand a whole day on tiptoe, or let him continue in motion rising and sitting alternately but at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset, let him go to the waters and bathe In the hot season let him sit exposed to five fires, in the rains let him stand uncovered where the clouds pour the heaviest showers, in the cold season (when the evaporation caused by the dry air is excessive) let him wear humid vesture and let him encrease by degrees the austerity of his devotion " Abandoning the use of all means of gratification, he must for the purpose of uniting his soul with the Divine Spirit, engage in meditation, and study the sacred *Upanishads*, or philosophical pantheistic treatises Shuffling off his body, if he is attacked by disease by any of these means,—he is given to understand,—he will rise to exaltation in the divine essence †

The *Sannyasi* or Anchorite in the fourth *Ashrama*, has to improve upon the course now mentioned, practising contemplation however, more than austerities Delighted with meditating on the Supreme Spirit being fixed in such meditation, without needing anything earthly, without one sensual desire, without any compan

* *Manu* vi 22 23

† *Manu* vi 32 etc

ion to his own soul, let him live in this world seeking the bliss of the next, "absolute absorption" "His hair, nails, and beard being clipped, bearing with him a dish, a staff, and a waterpot, his whole mind being fixed on God, let him wander about continually, without giving pain to living beings,"* either vegetable or animal. Once a day only he has to ask for food, and that ought to be at a late hour. Meditating [in gross delusion] on the identity of his own spirit with that of the Supreme, and seeking reunion, he is to be ready cheerfully to leave the cumbersome and miserable body†

The profession by the Brahmans, that, with certain nonessential modifications, they have still this sacred character, and that they follow these injunctions, esteemed divine, gives them a powerful hold of the mind of India, quite independently of their pretensions to pre-eminence which we have noticed at the commencement of this heading. Its natural effects are often too little regarded in the estimate of the religious and social forces by which we are surrounded in India. With Brahmanical discipline and pursuits, there is much sympathy, even on the part of those large portions of the community which are legally debarred from participating in them. There is an admiration and approval of the Bráhmaṇ among the people as well as much dread and distrust of him, and contempt of him for his extravagant claims in connexion with his status and prerogatives. Hence,

* Manu, vi 49 52

† The notice taken of the four *āśhrāms* in the Puranas, is quite accordant with that of the Law Books. See, for example, Wilson's Vishnu Purāna, pp 294 296

the attempt in late centuries especially, of multitudes precluded from all priestly services, to become wandering saints and devotees of various orders and grades. There is very great deference shown to the Bráhmaṇ, even in the view of the fact that he is now left without a legal remedy for enforcing in his own behalf the unjust laws which he has made connected with his own life, honor and support. I add another observation to this remark. I have a strong impression on my mind that a great deal of the Brahmanical legislation was, from the first, intended only for effect, and that it was never designed to be carried into execution as far as the priestly practice itself was concerned. An intelligent native writer in the Calcutta Review justly says,

Those who arrogate to themselves great honors, must at least profess to be guided by a more elevated standard of duty than their neighbours. A man who prides himself on the greatness of his origin must admit, that it behoveth him to observe higher principles of morality, than those over whom he affects superiority. The Bráhmaṇs have accordingly laid down severe rules for the government of their order. Whether the authors of the Shástras intended, that then austere rules should be followed out in practice, or whether they merely proposed to exhibit their idea of priestly dignity without intending to realize it, it is not easy to determine. One thing however, is certain, that as the Bráhmaṇ acknowledged no earthly superior he had little apprehension of his delinquencies being severely visited. He could not be called to account for departing from his maxims, because no one was at liberty to judge him. An austere rule of life could therefore prove no greater restraint on his

inations than he himself [or the priestly community of which he was a member] chose to allow *

2 From the Brahmin, we pass to the *Kshatriya*, the Warrior or rather, as will be afterwards explained, the Ruler or Prince

According to the orthodox view of Caste, the *Kshatriya* is derived from the arms of the god Brahma,† in the same way as the Brahman is derived from his head This explanation of the origin of the *Kshatriya*, however, is not consistently adhered to, even in the Law Books which are the great support of the Caste system In the seventh chapter of the Code of Manu, which is evidently intended for the use of the ruling authorities, the creation and glory of the prince is thus set forth — “Since the world destitute of a king quaked on all sides, the Lord created a king for the maintenance of this system, both religious and civil, forming him of eternal particles‡ drawn from [the gods] Indra, Anula (Vayu) Yama, Arka (Súrya), Agni, Varuna, Chandra, and Víttesha (Kuvera), and since a king was composed of particles drawn from these chief guardian deities he consequently surpasses all beings in glory Like the sun, he burns eyes and hearts, nor can any human creatures on earth gaze on him He is fire and air he, both sun and moon, he the god of retributive justice (Yama) he the god of wealth (Kuvér?) he the regent of waters (Varuna) he the lord of the firmament A king, even though a child must not be

Calcutta Review 1851 p 53

† See above, page 17

‡ *Matra* in the singular corresponds (etymologically) with the Latin *materia* and our own *matter*

treated lightly, from an idea that he is a mere mortal no he is a powerful divinity who appears in human shape”“ “The natural duties of the Kshatriya,’ according to the Bhagavad Gita, “are heroism, splendour, pertinacity, policy, not fleeing in battle, liberality, and fitness to govern † Other views of his creation and glory will afterwards fall to be alluded to The Brahmans, while setting forth their own pre eminence and superiority, knew how to flatter the powerful and wealthy of their own race, in varied ways not very consistent with the general dogmatic announcements which were most consistent with the religious system which they sought to uphold

The Kshatriya, according to what has now been said, is set forth in the Law Books as the essence of majesty and power, and as the great dispenser of justice, particularly in the matter of punishment of which he is the personal manifestation (*purushodandi*), and which, though needed both by gods and men, is to be leniently applied to Brahmans ‡ He is to be the protector of the various Castes attending to their prescribed duties § In discharging his functions, he has to abide by the decision of learned Brahmans ¶ He must cultivate humility and be warned by the examples of kings who, in the lack of it, have involved themselves in ruin He is enjoined to seek sacred and secular knowledge from the Bráhmans, and

* Manu, vii 3 8 Some of the gods here mentioned are contemplated in aspects different from those in which they are exhibited in the Vedas

† Bhagavad Gita, xviii 43

‡ Manu vii 17 32

§ Manu, vii 35

¶ Ibid vii. 37

to avoid various kinds of immoralities and sensualities. He is recommended to choose eight ministers some of whom are to be versed in the sacred books and others, in the art of war. The ambassador (*dūta*) selected by him should be skilled in all the Śāstras. He should live in a capital surrounded by a desert, and otherways difficult of approach, and well defended by fortifications, his own palace being in its centre. His wife should be of his own class (*varṇa*) and of good descent and agreeable person. He must appoint a domestic priest (*purohita**) and be liberal in sacrifices and in gifts to Brāhmins. "An offering in the mouth of a Brāhman" he is told, "is far better than offerings to holy fires, it never drops, it never dries, it is never consumed"†. In battle he must be brave, resolute, and generous. He must subordinate to one another the various districts in his realm. He must raise taxes from his subjects according to their means but, though even dying with want, he must not receive any tax from a Brahman learned in the Vedas while at the same time he must suffer no such Brahman to die of hunger‡. The season of the year most favourable for weather and crops he must choose for his warlike campaigns. His troops he has to march in varied lines and according to varied figures, with considerable skill, forming, when thought expedient, a van, a rearguard, and a mainbody and also wings and a centre. His ordinary soldiers,—who it would appear, might have been of varied tribes and castes,—he was to dispose of in battle according to their capacities. "Men born in Kurukshetra in Matsya in Pan

* Literally a forerunner

† Manu, vii 64

‡ Manu vii 183

(bala, and in Shurasén, he is required to engage in the van, and "other men who are tall and light * He has to respect the deities and Brahmans of conquered countries and to appoint over them a prince of his own race (*vansha*) To his neighbours who support his cause, he has to practise kindness, and for self preservation, he has to be ready to part with his dominions and even with his family when required "Against misfortune let him preserve his wealth at the expense of his wealth, let him preserve his wife, but at all events let him preserve himself even at the hazard of his wife and riches † His

* Manu vii 153

† Manu vii 213 The principle here involved is applied to all classes of the Hindus as well as to Kshatriyas The Brahmans have embodied it in the following Sanskrit proverb —

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेत दारिद्र्यं भवेन्नपि ।
पुनदा पुनर्विक्तं न शरीरं पुन पुन ॥

Preserve your wife preserve you self
But give them both to save yourself
There's other wealth another wife,
But where is there another life?

By a slight change (by a Pandit from the West) this wise saying can be reversed in favour of the poor wife —

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेत भर्तापि भवेन्न वा ।
पुनर्भर्ता पुनर्विक्तं न शरीरं पुन पुन ॥

'Preserve your man preserve you self,
But give them both to save yourself
There's other wealth and other men
But who shall see this life again?

For a short comment on these verses see a paper by the late Rev H. Nesbit in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, Sept 1812

religious and domestic duties he has to attend to in their own relations. After ablution he has to eat at noon, taking food prepared by faithful servants skilled in the differences of times (lucky and unlucky), and hallowed by texts repulsive of poison. He may then divert himself with his women in the inner apartments, taking due care, however, lest he should be betrayed by them. At sunset, after having performed his religious duty, he should deal with spies and emissaries in retirement.* When unable personally to inspect his affairs, he may commit the superintendence of them to a Brahman† From the Brahman, but never from a Shúdra, he has to seek the interpretation of law. "Of that king, who stupidly looks on while a Shudra decides causes, the kingdom shall sink like a cow in deep mire"‡ The king is the guardian of all property including that of minors, and the owner of the half of treasure trove (the other half belonging to Bráhmans), except that found by a learned Bráhmaṇ, who may take it without any deduction, as he is the lord of all. He also receives the wealth of all other classes on the failure of heirs, except that of Brahmins, which must go to their own community without, in any case, being escheated§ He is the upholder of the Caste laws, and customs of the various classes of the community,¶ in so far as practised by good men and virtuous Brahmins, and not inconsistent with local usages. In the dispensation of justice, the king himself is not to be made a witness, and he has also to make an exemption,

* Manu, vii ad finem

† Manu viii 9

‡ Manu, viii. 21

§ Manu, iv 189

¶ Manu, viii 37 38

generally, in the matter of giving testimony to certain classes of people, some of whom are thought too humble, and some too great to appear as witnesses * He has to order the administration of oaths or ordeals to competent witnesses, with considerable solemnity from the Indian point of view, with a due regard to the comparative dignity of Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras, and with the recognition of injury said to accrue both to ancestors and posterity from the speaking of falsehood, except when a pious motive intervenes, when this sin is found not to be contracted even by perjury † The legislation by which he is to be guided, in these matters, to use the words of Sir William Jones is “a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks it is filled with strange conceits in metaphysics and natural philosophy, with idle superstitions and with a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative and consequently liable to dangerous misconception, it abounds with minute and childish formalities, with ceremonies generally absurd and often ridiculous the punishments are partial and fanciful for some crimes dreadfully cruel, for others reprehensibly slight, and the very morals, though rigid enough on the whole are, in one or

* Among the latter class are specified in Manu, (viii 65) the learned in the three Védas, Bráhmans waiting on the sacred fire, and religious devotees who have abandoned the world It is in consequence of the principle here involved that the Bhatyá and other native merchants of Bombay are claiming the right of their high priests (*Maharajas*, or great kings¹) to decline attendance on the courts of law

† Manu, viii. 66-112 See also above, p 21

two instances, (as in the case of light oaths and of pious perjury) [just alluded to] unaccountably relaxed * It is interesting to notice, in the view of these faults and defects, that, in regard to the boundaries of property, evidence taken is to be recorded in writing,† and that the lowest classes of the population may be useful in giving testimony in this matter Punishments inflicted are to descend with violence inversely as the station in caste of the offenders A Kshatriya defaming a Bráhmaṇ shall be fined a hundred [*panas*] a Vaishya, an hundred and fifty, or two hundred, but a Shúdra [acting in this way] shall be corporally punished A Bráhmaṇ shall be fined fifty, if he slander a Kshatriya, twenty-five, if a Vaishya, and twelve, if a Shúdra ‡ Fines for theft are to be inflicted in proportion to the status in Caste of the party offending § Adultery is to be treated with much severity, the punishment being a cruel death to be inflicted on the lower orders transgressing with the higher Punishments by kings are said to form atonements for the guilty “Men who have committed, and have received from kings the punishment due to them, go to pure heaven, and become as clear as those who have done well ¶ This dictum, which removes man from his responsibility to God, has taken a great hold of the popular mind in India Native musicians attend the capital executions of the vilest criminals throughout the country, seeking to introduce them into the other world with joy and rejoicing simply be-

* Preface to the Institutes of Manu

† Manu, viii 255-266

‡ Manu, viii 267-268

§ Ibid 337-8

¶ Manu, viii. 318

cause they view their death by the public sentence of the law as an atonement for all their transgressions

It is the duty of the princely Kshatriya to keep the Castes below himself close to the works respectively prescribed for them. He should order the Vaishya to practise trade, or money-lending, or agriculture and attendance on cattle, and the Shudra to act in the service of the twice born. It is incumbent upon him to regulate all market prices, with a due regard to the interests of the buyer and seller *. This principle of Caste law is the foundation of the demand often made on government to interfere in matters of sale and trade. The doctrines of Adam Smith were not in vogue when the laws attributed to Manu were reduced to a Code.

It is also the duty of the Kshatriya to aid the male portion of the community in maintaining its lordship over the female portion. This is a matter of much consequence with the Hindus, and it is so intimately connected with Caste that it may be proper onwards to devote to it a separate section of this work.

3 Leaving the Kshatriya, in the meantime, we proceed to notice the *Vaishya*, who is the Cattle keeper, the Agriculturist, and the Merchant.

In a passage in the Code of Manu, already referred to, it is said that "to keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest and to cultivate land are the

* Manu, viii 401. Difficulties in regard to this matter are often felt by our own officials particularly in the matter of grain. For hints as to the removal of these difficulties see Colonel Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections* vol 1 chap 24.

duties of a *Vaishya*” * ‘The natural duties of the *Vaishya*,’ says the *Bhagavad Gita*, ‘are agriculture keeping of cattle, and the practice of merchandise’ † Respecting these duties, indeed, without any hints as to their comparative importance, the information of the later Sanskrit books is throughout self consistent.

In the Law Books, the general ordinances affecting the *Vaishya* are such as the following After performing the initiatory sacraments, ending with that of the sacrificial thread, and marrying a wife of his own class, he should be attentive to his proper business, especially that of cattle keeping, which he is by no means to overlook, as the Lord-of men has committed cattle to his trust in the same way as he has committed men to that of the *Bráhma*n and the *Kshatriya*. He must never say, “I keep charge of no cattle,” nor must others supersede him in this charge while he is willing to undertake it With the prices of mercantile commodities he has to be acquainted, especially of gems, pearls, coral, iron, cloth, perfumes and liquids. He has to be skilled in sowing seeds, in the qualities of land, in weights and measures, in the excellence and defects of articles of traffic, in the advantages and disadvantages of different districts, in the probable gain and loss on goods, in the breeding of cattle, in the wages of servants, in the various languages of men ‡ in the best places for keeping

* See above p 17, where the words ‘to cultivate lands’ are by an error omitted

† *Bhagavad-Gita*, xviii 48

‡ *Ti*

goods and in all measures for effecting purchase and sale. The augmentation of his wealth should command his vigilant care and solicitude, while he is attentive to the giving of nourishment to all sentient creatures * Considerable intelligence and ingenuity seem to have been requisite for the Vaishya's duties. Let this be marked as an indication of the state of society when the Hindu Law Books were composed.

4 We conclude this sketch by referring to the legal position of the *Shúdra*.

In illustration of this position, especially when compared with that of his great master, the Brahman, some notices have already been given by us. The principal duty assigned to the Shúdra is that of serving the Brahman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaishya, especially the Brahman, for whose advantage, principally, he has been created. Throughout the Law Books, he is viewed as a domestic slave, to whom servitude is natural and of which he cannot be divested, and whose property even is at the disposal of his master †. From his daily engagements in the family of his superiors, it is obvious that ceremonial ablution was not required to be the consequence of simple contact with him. His religious degradation, however, is complete according to Hindu legislation. On the Brahman the following injunctions are laid in Manu —“Let him not give advice to a Shúdra, nor (except to his own servant) what remains from his own table, nor clarified butter of which part has been offered (to the gods), nor let him

* Manu, ix 326 333

† See above pp 17 21 23 Manu viii 413 414 x 121 123

give spiritual counsel to such a man, nor inform him of the legal expiation for his sin. Surely he who declares the law to a servile man and he who instructs him in the mode of expiating sin sinks with that very man into the hell named *Asamvrita* ** A Brahman is never to be the preceptor of a Shúdra † While the first part of a Brahman's compound name should indicate holiness of a Kshatriya's power and of a Vaiśya's wealth—that of a Shúdra should indicate contempt‡ The Vēda is never to be read in the presence of a Shudra,§ and for him no sacrifice is to be performed ¶ “He has no business with solemn rites”*** “They who receive property from a Shúdra for the performance of rites to consecrated fire are contemned, as ministers of the base”†† His gifts, now so acceptable to the Bráhmaṇ, were received of old only in the most limited degree, when the Brahman, who had no other means to live, might take from him raw grain enough for a single night ‡‡ In one law, it is thus written —“Shudras engaged in religious duties, must perform each month the ceremony of shaving their heads, their food must be the orts of Bráhmans, and their mode of purification the

* Manu, iv 80-81 Sir William Jones partly on the authority of Kullúka Bhatta a modern commentator on Manu, has here made some interpolations inconsistent with the passage as referring to Bráhmans, and with its context.

† Manu, iii 156

‡ Manu, ii 31

§ Manu, iv 99

¶ Manu, iii 178

** Manu xi 13

†† Manu, xi 42

‡‡ Manu, iv 222 In Manu xi 24 it is said ‘Let no Bráhmaṇ ever beg a gift from a Shudra, for if he perform a sacrifice after such begging he shall in the next life be born a Chándála

same with that of a Vaisnya * but this legislation is not consistently regarded "A Brahman is purified by water that reaches his bosom, a Kshatriya, by water descending to his throat a Vaishya, by water taken into his mouth, a Shudra by water touched by an extremity"† Graduation in Caste indeed, is preserved in every act and in every ceremony While for example the stick with which a Brahman rinses his teeth, is to be twelve inch s long that of a Kshatriya is to be eleven, that of a Vaishya, ten and that of a Shudra, nine When a Brahman to remove a natural defilement, is to make five applications of clay, a Kshatriya is to make four, a Vaishya, three, and a Shudra, and a woman, two ‡ Much is to be found in the "sacred books" in the spirit of these injunctions It is curious to notice that a Bráhmaṇ is represented as on a level with a Shúdra, in religious status, till his "new birth from revealed scripture"§ and that he has to view the state of a Shudra as the ultimatum of his own degradation in the case of the greatest offences ¶

In the greatest events of life and death, the privileges of a Shúdra are of a very restricted character He must not marry in any Caste superior to his own ** He must

* Manu, v 40

† Manu, ii 62

‡ Shiva Purána, adh viii In this and other chapters of a little known Purána there is very curious information respecting the worship of Shiva and the observances of his votaries

§ Manu, ii 172

¶ See for example, Manu iii. 17 19

** Manu, iii. 13 'A Brahman, if he take a Shúdra to his bed as a first wife, sinks to the regions of torment if he beget a child by her he loses even his priestly rank Ibid iii 17

aid in carrying the body of a Brahman, though even that of his master to the burning or burying ground, that the funeral rites may not be hindered and obstructions to enter heaven may not occur * The southern gate of a town (the most remote from the holy north) is that only by which he can carry his own kinsmen to the grave † His morals are not to be strictly looked after Theft is less heinous in him than in those above him ‡ He may drink the spirit of rice, while it is interdicted to Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas § Probably because of his connexion with Brahmanical households, he ranks higher than artizans to whose occupations he may resort when tormented by hunger || The cruelty with which he may be punished for the slightest offences against the Bráhmans we have already brought to notice ¶ His murder by a Brahman is equal only to the killing of a cat, an ichneumon, the bird *chasha* (the Indian Roller), a frog a dog a lizard, an owl, or a crow ** His bliss in a future world, or in a future birth, depends principally on his service "Servile attendance on Brahmans learned in the Veda, chiefly on such as keep house and are famed for virtue, is of itself the highest duty of a Shúdra, and leads him to future beatitude pure, humbly serving the higher classes, sweet in speech, never arrogant, ever seeking refuge in Bráhmans, he may attain the highest class' (in another birth) ††

By some intelligent writers the position and condition of the Indian Shudras, as brought to notice in the Him

* Manu, v 104

† Manu, v 92.

‡ Manu, viii. 337

§ Manu, xi. 94

|| Manu, x 99

¶ See above pp 19 20

** Manu, xi. 131

†† Manu ix 334-335

du Law Books, and exhibited in ancient (not the most ancient) India society, has been likened to that of the Helots of Sparta. As far as the deprivation of liberty, the social degradation, and the actual sufferings of both these classes of slaves were concerned, there was doubtless considerable similarity. It must be kept in mind, however, that while the Helots were slaves of the soil and usually employed in agricultural labour, the Shudras were slaves of the household and commonly employed in domestic services. In religious status, the Shudras were lower than the Helots. When a reference is made to their obvious usefulness in olden times, it is difficult to understand the peculiar hate with which, it would seem, they were regarded, unless on the supposition that they were prone,—as well they might be,—to discontent and rebellion, at any rate till a general agreement as to their depression was secured among their superiors.

Of the four classes of Hindus now treated of it is held by the Bráhmans that the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas no longer exist. In explanation of their doctrine on this matter, they refer to the legend of Parashurama—an alleged incarnation of the god Vishnu, who is said to have killed all the Kshatriyas in twenty one engagements,* to the destruction of the Yadavas by Krishna, considered also an incarnation of the same god;† and

* For a summary and review of the wild legends connected with Parashurama, see Muir's Texts, pp. 151-174. The slaughter of the Kshatriyas is laid in remote ages, beyond those of the Law Books, and the narrations of it are not available for the purpose for which they are appealed to by the modern Bráhmans.

† The legends of this alleged destruction are given in the Mahábhá-rata and the Vaishnava Purāṇas. See Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, p. 610.

especially to certain passages in the Bhagavata and other Puranas, in which it is prophesied that after king Nanda, son of Mahananda, all earthly power is to be administered by Shudras * To their allegations on these matters it will be afterwards necessary to refer. In the meantime, I would simply mention one or two historical facts which bear more distinctly on the position of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas in India than do the legends adduced by the Brahmans. As the conquests of the Aryas,—from whom, as we shall immediately see, the first Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas sprung,—advanced in India, difficulties, arising from the prejudices of race, were felt in giving the status of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas to the rulers and cultivators and merchants of the subjugated tribes while, compared with the general population of these tribes, the pure Aryas must have appeared but few in number. Shákya Muni the founder of Buddhism, who flourished in the first half of the sixth or latter half of the fifth century before Christ, was a Kshatriya and he, and his cause after him, received great patronage and support from the scions of the princely tribe, who became its great propagators, while they seceded from the organized Brahmanical faith and were reckoned apostates by its up-

* See Bhagavata, Skanda VII. 1. In the Vishnu Purana (Wilson, p. 467) it is said of this Nanda, ' Like another Parashurama, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race, for after him the kings of the earth will be Shúdras. Except sometimes in bare lists of kings (requiring a critical consideration and adjustment) the Puránas give no history. To preserve the air of antiquity these writings, which were evidently manufactured in late centuries, give their chronology in a prophetic form.

holders The merchants of India, too, clave to Buddhism in great multitudes, as is evident from the inscriptions on the Buddhist Excavations, and is still illustrated in the case of the Jainas of Western India In the course of ages, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, mainly of Aryan blood, seeing the peculiar honours claimed by and accorded to Brahmans, not unnaturally aspired, we may suppose, after promotion, and in the miscellaneous society of India, gave themselves out for Brahmans, though by the real priestly class they might not be altogether acknowledged to have this standing In every province of India there are cultivating and labouring Bráhmans so-called, who are not acknowledged by their brethren in general to be of the real stamp, and who claim as their privilege only three of the six constituted works of the Brahmans—those of reading the Vedas, sacrificing for themselves, and giving alms Examples of this class of Brahman may be found in the Bhatélá Bráhmans of Gujarat,* in the Shenavi Brahmans of the Maratha country and Goa territories, in the Haiga Brahmans of the Karnátika,† and in the Mahastana, or Mastan Brahman of Odra, or Orissa—who are as likely to have been originally Aryas of the ruling and cultivating tribes seeking elevation in caste, as Brahmans deteriorating themselves by their present employments ‡ It is notorious that in the Bengal Army,

* See Author's Journal of a Tour in Gujarát, in Oriental Christian Spectator 1835, p. 250

† Letter of Huddleston Stokes Esq to the author

‡ Noticing the Mastan Bráhmans, Mr A Stirling (Trans of As Soc vol xv, p 198) says, "Besides cultivating with their own hands gardens of the Karbu (Arum Indicum) cocoanut, and Areca, and the pi

many of the parties who had professed to belong to the Brahmanhood, have been known to declare themselves to be of a lower grade, to get admittance into regiments in which there was more than the desired supply of Brahmans. All this is said with the full admission of the fact that the Brahmanical theory of the total extinction of the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas is altogether inadmissible. The descent of *some* of the Rajput princes from the ancient Kshatriyas,—with a mixture of foreign and aboriginal blood,—seems undeniable, even without the rapturous advocacy of the modern Paurāṇika, the worthy and genial Colonel James Tod.

IV —ORTHODOX VIEW OF THE MIXED CASTES

According to Manu, the original development of humanity was confined to the Four Castes now noticed. ‘Three Castes, the Brahman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaishya,’ he says, “are twice born, the fourth, the Shudra, is once born, and there is not a fifth.”* These divisions of human society, however, it must be seen at once, are quite inadequate to the exigencies of its progress and history. Other classes of men with other duties, must have appeared in India, as well as in other countries, soon after the first settlement in it of any considerable body of the

per beetles, or pan, they very frequently follow the plough, from which circumstance they are called Hala Brāhmins, and they are found everywhere in great numbers of Mukuldams and Sarbarakars, or hereditary renters of villages. Those who handle the plough glory in their occupation and affect to despise the *Beḍ* or Veda Brahmans who live upon alms. I have not been able to trace satisfactorily the origin and history of these Maratta Brāhmins who I am informed re-

descendants of our first progenitor. Such classes Hinduism recognizes, but it views them, and certain degraded classes of the people, and other bodies of men not yet within the pale of Hinduism as the issue of connubial intercourse and adultery, and of after-propagation by that issue, and treats them as mules and hybrids * It calls them the Mixed Castes (*Varna Sankhara*). The origin thus attributed to them is doubtless entirely of a fictional character. The "Mixed Castes," must have originated principally from the increase of occupations in the Hindu community, brought about by the growing demands and division of labour, and by the circumstance of the dominant people (the A'ryas, to be immediately noticed), coming in contact with aboriginal tribes, which, keeping in the main beyond the pale of Hinduism, have either been ultimately degraded, or have maintained for themselves in their own retreats a precarious independence. I introduce,—with a few explanations,—the information which is given respecting them by Manu. We are able to identify several of his designations as those of tribes distinct from that of the dominant class which established Brahmanism, and the system of faith with which it is associated.

"Sons, begotten by the twice born on the class immediately below them, wise legislators call similar in class [with their parents, but not the same] because they are degraded by the lowness of their mothers. Such is the primeval rule for the sons of women one degree lower

* Commenting on the passage last quoted from Manu, Kullūka Bhatta, as noticed by Mr. Muir (*Original Sanskrit Texts*, p. 175), says, "There is no fifth Caste for Caste cannot be predicated of the mixed tribes, seeing that like mules, they belong to another species distinct from that of their father and mother."

[than their husbands] for the sons of women two or three degrees lower, let this rule of law be known —

“From a Brāhman, on a Vaishya wife,* is born a son called *Ambashtha*, who, as Manu in another law says, “should live by curing disorders,” and whose class is recognizable as the *Ambastar* a people mentioned by Ptolemy,† “and represented as a “*Vaidya*” or Physician,”‡ on a Shūdra wife, [is born] a *Nishāda*, originally viewed as a “settled” inhabitant one of the Aborigines, but afterwards appointed “to catch

* The Code, it will be observed, does not tell us what the offspring of a Brāhman and a *Kshatriya* woman, referred to in the preceding general law, is. Probably a verse has here disappeared from the manuscripts. In the *Sahyadri Khanda* of the *Skanda Purana*, we find it thus written —*सर्वत्रय विप्रैः संयोगा जातो मूर्धाभिषिक्तः । राजन्य क्षत्रधर्मेण अधिक समकीर्तितः* —The offspring of a *Vipra* (Brāhman on a *Kshatriya* woman is a *Murdhabhishikta* (anointed in the head), a *Rajanya* (of princely descent) reckoned higher in religion than a *Kshatriya*. Kullūka Bhatta supplies *Murdhavasikta*, but adds to it, as apparently designations also given to this kind of offspring, *Māhishya*, *Karana* or *Kāyastha*. Prefixed to these four designations, Sir W Jones (Manu, x 6) supplies the words “*They are named in order*.” But the names are not in the order of four ranks, but expressive of four Castes, alleged to be of one origin and equal status. The *Murdhabhishikta* or *Murdhavasikta*, Caste is held by the Brāhmins to be no longer in existence

† *Aμβαραι* Pal. *A'μβαραι* Ptol lib vii, Ed Bert p 204

‡ As noticed by Professor Lassen, the appearance of the *Vaidya* here is puzzling, but probably the Code had it in view to give to a *Vaidya* more than the rank of a *Vaishya*, as each of these mixed classes partakes in the dignity of the father. Onwards the Code gives to the *Ambashtha*, the cure of disorders, dropping the *Vaidya* out of view. It is probable that the country of the *Ambashthas*, like the *Karnatika* of the present day, furnished remarkable physicians or travelling quacks.

fish, * named also *Páshava*, in the *Játi Viveka*, and the *Sahyádrī Khanda*—a *Sonár* or goldsmith †

“From a Kshatriya, on a Shudra wife, springs a creature called *Ugra*, —the patronymic of a people in the time of the Vedas, perhaps the original of the Hungarian nation,—“with a nature partly warlike and partly servile ferocious in his manners, cruel in his acts, and commanded,—with the Kshatri and Pukkasa to be afterwards mentioned,—“to live by killing animals that live in holes.” †

“The sons of a Brahman by [women of] three [lower] classes, of a Kshatriya by [women of] two, and of a Vaishya, by one [lower] class, are called *Apasada*, or degraded

“From a Kshatriya by a Brahman woman, is born a

* At the time of the *Mahābhārata*, (*Rājadharmmanushāsana parva*, vv 2209 2218 Cal Ed vol iii p 443) the *Nishādas* and *Mlechhas* dwelling in the *Vindhya* mountains, and the reputed descendants of the wicked *Vena* are reckoned at a hundred thousand (classes?) The picture of the *Nishāda* there given seems to have had a party like the *Bhilla* for its type, a being spoken of as ‘deformed, dwarfish, of the colour of charred wood, with red [furious?] eyes, and black hair To this description of him we shall afterwards advert

† The classing of a goldsmith with a *Nishāda* seems curious but the *Nishāda* was not considered so alien from the ruling race as is commonly supposed In the *Rāmāyana* i 83 we find Rama spoken of as meeting with *Guha* the pious, and beloved prince of the *Nishādas*” (*गुहमासाद्य धर्ममा निषादाधिपतिं पि५*) The Bombay goldsmiths however don’t like to be associated with the *Nishādas*, and plead for being considered a sort of son Brahman The *Sahyādrī Khanda* gives to the *Sonár*, viewed as a *Parashav* more than the religious status of a Shudra It denominates him a *Mahashūdra*, or great Shūdra That work however, is but a late production

‡ In the *Sahyādrī Khanda* of the *Skanda Purana*, the *Ugra* gets the rank of a *Rajput*.

Súta” [the “sent”], to “live by managing horses and driving cars,’ and who, of old, must have been the great traditional bard, or reciter, of the families in which he was found

“From a Vaishya, by a military or sacerdotal wife, springs a *Mághada*,’ “authorized to travel with merchandise,”—and probably an aboriginal inhabitant of the province of *Maghada*, ‘and a *Vaidéha*”, of the country of *Vidéha*,—first mentioned in the Sanskrit writings as belonging to King Janaka,—“to live by waiting on women ’

“From a Shúdra, on a Vaishya, Kshatriya, or Brahman woman, are born sons of a mixed breed, called *Ayogava* (a monstrous junction), a Kshattri,’ “a degraded being who must live by killing animals,’ “and a *Chándala*, the lowest of mortals, —† whose tribe is recognized by Ptolemy as that of the *Kandalis*, or *Gondals*, on the river Tapti,‡ (perhaps the *Gonds*,—adjoining the *Phyllisæ*, of the same author, identified as the *Bhills*,—or the *Gondhals*, still a wandering tribe of the Maharashtra)

“From a Brahman, by an Ugra female, is born an *Avrita*, by one of the Ambashtha tribe, an *A’bhira*’—designated from *Abira*, of Ptolemy, on the banks of the Indus, and represented by *Ahir* the name of a class of shepherds in Sindh, Kachh, and Káthiawad, ‘ by one of the *Ayogava* tribe, a *Dhugana*, § “appointed to sell leather ”

* The Mahabharata professes to have been recited by Ugrasravas the son of the Súta Lomaharshana, who is said, however, to have received it from Vaishampayana, a disciple of Vyasa, the reputed ‘compiler, as his name bears, of the Vedas and Shastras

† Manu, x. 6-12

‡ Manu, x. 15

§ Ptol Geo Ed Berti p. 204

"The son of a *Nishada* by a *Shúdra* woman is by tribe a *Pukkasa*," "to live by killing animals that live in holes," "but the son of a *Shudra* by a *Nishadi* woman, is named *Kukkutaka*

"One born of a *Kshattri* by an *Ugra* is called *Svapaka* (dog eater), and one begotten by a *Vandéha* on an *Ambashthi* woman is called *Véna*," "who should strike musical instruments" *

"Those whom the twice born beget on women of equal classes, but who perform not the proper ceremonies, people denominate *Vrátya*, or excluded from the *Gâyatri*

"From such an outcast *Bráhma*n springs a son, of a sinful nature, named a *Bhúrjakantaka*, an *A'vantya*, a *Vátadhána*, a *Pushpadha*, and a *Shaikha*,"—who seem to have been inhabitants of the countries near the western part of the *Vindhya* range

"From such an outcast *Kshatriya* comes a son called *Jhalla* (*Rajguru*), a *Malla* (wrestler), a *Nichhavi*,† *Nata* (a dancer) a *Karana*, a *Khasa*" (of the *Khasya* tribe), and a *Dravula*,"—of the eastern coast of the peninsula

"From such an outcast *Vaishya* is born a son called *Sudhanvá*, *Charyya*, *Kárusha*, *Vyanma*, *Mastra*, and *Sátvata*,"—the last mentioned being near the *Vindhya* ‡

"A *Dasyu*,"—originally a non-Aryan,— "or outcast of any pure class, begets, on an *Ayogani* woman, a *Saurindhra*, who should know how to attend and dress his master

* *Véna* comes from *Vína*, a lyre.

† This is supposed by Professor Lassen to be for *Lachavi*, a class of people, noted as warriors, in the East of India.

‡ *Manu* x. 17-23

"A Vaidéha begets on her a sweet-voiced *Mautréyaka*, who ringing a bell (or gong) at the appearance of dawn, continually praises great men

"A *Nisháda* begets on her a *Mārgava*, or *Dāsha*, who subsists by his labour in boats, and is named *Kauvarta*, by those who dwell in *Aryavarta* *

"From a *Nisháda*, by a Vaidéha woman, springs a *Karávara*, who cuts leather, and from a Vaidéha by women of the *Karávara* and *Nishada* castes an *Andhra* (of the eastern part of the peninsula), and a *Méda* † who must live without the town,"—perhaps of the degraded *Meda* ("Mair") tribe in Rajputáná

"From a *Chándála*, by a Vaidéha woman, comes a *Pandusopaka*, who works with cane and reeds, and from a *Nishada*, an *Ahindika*, 'said to be a "jailor"'

"From a *Chandala* by a Pukassí woman, is born a *Sopáka*, who lives by punishing criminals, a sinful wretch ever despised by the virtuous

"A *Nishadi* woman, by a *Chandala*, produces a son called *Antyavasayi* (performer of the lowest actions) employed in places for burning the dead, contemned even by the contemptible" ‡

"The following races of Kshatriyas, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Bráhmans, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes [the *Shúdras*] —*Paundrakas*, [of the east of India] *Odras* [of Orisa], and *Dravidas* [of the south east of India], *Kambojas*, *Yavanas* [Greeks], and *Shakas* [Sæcæ], *Pára-*

* Manu, x. 32-34. The region of the Aryas.

das, *Pahlavas* [Persians], *Chinas* [Chinese],* *Knátos*, *Daradas*, and *Khashas* [all identified as names of peoples and tribes]. All those tribes of men which are sprung from the classes produced from the mouth, the arm, the thigh, and the foot of Brahma, became outcasts and are called *Dasyus*, whether they speak the language of the *Mléchchhas*, or that of the *Aryas* †

The Mixed Classes of the Hindus, even in their generic designations, are now far more numerous than those which are here indicated, though doubtless there has been a great indisposition on the part of the Brahmans to extend them nominally beyond those found mentioned in the more ancient Law Books. This fact may be illustrated by any of the Tabular views of the Castes constructed by the natives in any of the provinces of India,—as in that of the Maharashtra or Maratha country a transliteration and translation of which, in an abridged form may, with its introductory matter, be here introduced, as the most distinct and precise document of the kind procurable ‡

I “The *Bráhmans* have proceeded from the mouth of the god Brahmá. They have a right to the performance and use of the Sixteen Sacraments and the Six religious Works.” The Sixteen Sacraments (*sanskaras*), here alluded to, are the following —*garbhádhana*, sacrifice to promote conception, or acknowledge it when it occurs,

* The occurrence of the *Chinas* and *Yavanas* in this verse indicates this portion of *Manu* to be later than the time of the Greeks in India.

† *Manu* x. 43-45. See, on some of the tribes here mentioned, Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 177.

‡ This character I give it on comparing the Maráthi Tables with the similar documents of Bengal, the Gwálér State, Orissa, the Canarese country, the Tamil country, Malayálm, etc.

punsavana, sacrifice on vitality in the foetus, *anaralo bhana*, sacrifice in the third month of pregnancy, *Vishnu-bali*, sacrifice to Vishnu in the seventh month of pregnancy, *simantonnayana*, sacrifice in the fourth, sixth or eighth month, *jatakarma*, the birth ceremony, giving the infant clarified butter from a golden spoon before dividing the navel string, *namakarana* naming the child on the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or hundred and-first day, *nishkramana*, carrying him out to be presented to the moon on the third lunar day of the third light fortnight, *suryavalokana*, carrying him out to be presented to the sun in the third or fourth month, *annaprashana*, feeding him with rice in the sixth or eighth month, or when he has cut his teeth, *chudakaryya*, tonsure, in the second or third year *upanayana*, investiture with the string in the fifth, eighth, or sixteenth year, *mahanamya* instruction in the gayatri mantra, after the Munja, the ceremony of investment with the sacrificial cord, *samavartana*, loosing the Munja from the loins, *vnaha*, marriage, with its immediate antecedents and concomitants, *svargarohana*, funeral ceremonies and obsequies, to forward the entrance of the spirit into Svarga, or heaven * The dispensation of such of the Sacraments here mentioned as precede birth, is attended with the injury of all delicate feeling in families. There is much ceremony, without any really moral import, in all the Hindu Sacraments The Six Constituted works of the Bráhmans have been already mentioned †

2 'The *Kshatriyas* have proceeded from the arm

* In this mention of the Sacraments, I have principally followed Molesworth (Dictionary, p 836) But compare Steele's Summary of the Law and Customs of Hindu Caste, p 30

† See above, p 17

of the god They have a right to the use of the Sixteen Sacraments and Three religious Works

3 “The *Varshyas* have proceeded from the foot of the god. They have a right to the use of the Sixteen Sacraments and Three religious Works

4 “The *Shúdras* have proceeded from the foot of the god They have a right to the use of Twelve Sacraments through the Nama Mantras * Their duty is to serve the other three Castes

“Thus were created the Four Castes (*varnas*) The god Brahma also produced some Mind born Sons One of these was Kashyapa Rishi [the son of Marichi one of the Mind-born Sons], who gave birth to the gods (*Dévas*) and Titans (*Daityas*), and so continued the progression of the world.† The Brahmans had the

* The principal Sacraments not allowed to Shúdras are Upanayana, Mahánámya, and Samavartana. The Náma-Mantras are the simple invocations of the names of the gods, as distinguished from Vedic texts.

† In the doctrine of the Mind born sons of Brahma, here alluded to (designedly in an obscure form, for preventing the charge of inconsistency), there is, even in Manu (l. 32 et seq.), a theory of the origin of the human race quite inconsistent with the orthodox view of the origin of Caste “Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord [Brahma, the creator] became, with the half, a male, and with the half, a female, and in that female he created *Viráj*. Know, O most excellent of Bráhmans, [Manu is here represented as speaking to Bhṛigu, one of the Mind born Sons, or Sons formed by Manu] that I am the person whom that male *Vīraj* after performing devotion, created I who am the creator of all this [world] Being desirous to form creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created ten Maharshis, (great Rishis) the lords of creatures Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachétaa, Vashabhtha, Bhṛigu, and Nárada. They, endued with great energy, created seven other Manus and Dévas, and the abodes of Dévas, and Maharshis of boundless power Yakshias, Rakhasas, Pisháchas, Gan-

custom of receiving in marriage females of all the four Castes (the wife of his own Caste being the first.) The Kshatriyas married the females of three Castes, including their own. The Vaishyas were to exclude the females of the Bráhmaṇ and Kshatriya Castes, and to marry those of their own and the Shúdra Caste. The Shudras were permitted to contract marriages only in their own Caste. Such was the custom of the former ages. The offspring of such marriages is called the *Anuloma*,* The offspring of unlawful connexions between the higher Caste men and lower caste women is called the *Pratiloma*† The period for the investiture with the sacred thread of the male issues of the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya Castes is [properly] restricted to the age of nine years (to the commencement of the

dharmas, Apsarasas, Asuras, Nágas, Serpents, Suparnas, and the different classes of Pitris, .. Kinnaras, apes, fishes, various birds, beasts, deer MEN, and wild animals with two rows of teeth. Thus by my appointment [that of Manu, the son of the self-existent] and by the force of devotion, these great ones created all this movable and immovable world with separate actions allotted to each creature." To this passage, as opposed to the orthodox theory of Caste, I directed attention in my lectures to the youth of Bombay many years ago. Mr Muir (whose translation I have adopted in giving it, O S T p. 16), I am glad to notice thus refers to it — "It will be observed that among the creatures formed by the ten Maharsas are Men, who are not specified as being of any particular caste. How does this creation by the Maharsas consist with the four being created separately, and by the immediate act of Bráhmá, as described in verse 31, [in which they are spoken of as brought from his head, hands, etc.]?"

* From *Anu*, with, and *loma*, hair, grain, or line, meaning in the direct line of nature.

† The reverse of the preceding

ninth year)* Those whose thread ceremony has not been solemnized within that period are called *Vrátya*. The children born to the Vratyas by adultery with the women of their own caste are called the *Vrátya Santati* (Vratya progeny). Again, those born of illegal connexion of the men of any one of the above-mentioned castes with the women of any other caste are called the Mixed Castes (*Sankara Jāti*). The authors of the *Jāti-Viveka*, the *Brahmajāti Viveka*, the *Madhava Kalpalita*, and the *Parashurama Pratāpa* [works of authority among the Maratha Brahmans] say there are many Mixed Castes in this last age (Kali-Yuga) which cannot be determined and described. Yet, with the help of Manu and the other Rishis, they enumerate 134 produced from the *Anulomas* and *Pratilomas*, and the mixture (by the *Sankara Jāti*) of the four original Castes. They describe their modes of subsistence, and notice the Castes which are referable to the *Sankara-Jāti* and those which are not. The following is the sum of them —

Directly from god—the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shūdra	4
From the <i>Anuloma</i> —the Murchha-Vasika, the Ambashtha, the Parashava, the Mahishya, the Ugra, and the Vantāhka Karana Charana	6
From the <i>Pratiloma</i> —the Suta, the Vaidehika, the Chāndāla, the Māgadha, the Kshata Nishāda the Ayogava	6
From the <i>Vrátyas</i> and the <i>Sankaras</i> together according to the preceding books	36
To which are to be added, from the <i>Parashurāma Pratāpa</i> ,	22
Total of Castes enumerated	134 "

* See the injunction of Manu on this matter above, pp. 15-16. But compare with it, for the application of the term *Vrátya*, the *Mahābharata*, *Anushashana Parva*, 6 2621. —The three outcaste classes are the Chandalas, the *Vrátya*, and the *Vaidya*, begotten by a Shūdra on females of the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya classes respectively.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE CASTES ABOVE REFERRED TO

From the Brahman to the Shudra here the Kunbi or Cultivator

Caste	Sanskrit name	Malayalam name	English designation	Male Parent	Female Parent	Procreation
1 Brahman	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Regular
2 Murdhabhishikta			Anointed on the head	Brahman	Kshatriya	Anuloma
3 Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Regular
4 Ambashtha	Vaśya	Ambashtha	Ambashtha	Brāhmaṇa	Vaśya	Anuloma
5 Vaishya	Vaishya	Vaishya	Vaishya	Vaishya	Vaishya	Regular
6 Mahishya	Joshi	Mahishya or Joshi	Mahishya or Joshi	Kshatriya	Vaishya	Anuloma
7 Kunda-Golaka	I unda Golaka	Kunda Golaka	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Adultery
8 Randa-Golaka	Ran la Golaka	Randa Golaka	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Adultery
9 Bhishaka or Ambaka†	Apar Amba bha	Bhishaka or Ambaka	Brāhmaṇa	Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Adultery
10 Sūta	S rāma	Charoteer or Dara	Kshatriya	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Pratiloma
11 Pūshpava	Sonar	Goldsmith	Brāhmaṇa	Shūdra	Shūdra	Anuloma
12 Ugra	Rajput	Ugra	Kshatriya	Shūdra	Shūdra	Anuloma
13 Kansyakara	Kānsar	Bell-metal-worker	Adhika-Kshatriya	Adhika-Kshatriya	Adhika-Kshatriya	Perfection
14 Brihakantha	Prathama-Bairagi	1 Bairagi	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Vratya
15 Avartaka	Dvitya-Bairagi	2 Do	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Do
16 Katadhana	Tritiya-Bairagi	3 Do	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Do
17 Pushpashekhara	Chaturtha-Bairagi	4 Do	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Brāhmaṇa	Do

Or Murdhabhishikta Now altogether extinct

† G. Idemitha re-invented the sonages in the community. Many say they were inserted by f. all the handicrafts according to the Caste theory should rank lower than Shūdras. They have, however, Brahman progenitor ascribed to them.

§ By a Kshatriya adopting a trade, as is said

|| The Bairāgis, or Vairāgis, are devotees of Vishnu, and properly a sect of a caste. The numeric distinctions in the list (1, 2, 3, 4) are purely arbitrary.

<i>Cast</i>	<i>Sanskrit denomi- nation</i>	<i>Malatti denomi- nation</i>	<i>English deno- tation</i>	<i>Male Pa- tri</i>	<i>Female Pa- tri</i>	<i>Proce- dure</i>
18 Māgadha	Sūja Upāsaka	Māgāda	Brahman	Iu hpashe khara		
19 Shasvatika	Dēvapdja Ka- ranar	Idol-dresser	Brāhman	Magadha		
20 Sudhanvacharya Bhārūḍa, Vi- janmā, Ma- treya, Sāvrita,	Jangm etc of five kinds of Vams*		Vratya-ran sha Anu pūṣṭa	Vaishya	Vratya S	
21 Shūdra.	Kunbi.	Cultivator	Shudra	Shudra	Regular	

Of the Status of the Cultivators

22 Abhir	Girwal	Herdsman†	Brahman	Mahushya		
23 Māgadha Bandi jana	Shatava Kan	Minister of the Mugadhas	Vaishya	Kshatriya	Pratilo ma	
24 Nāpita	Nhāvi	Barber	Brāhman	Shudra		
25 Aparā N pūat	Nhāi	Barber	Māgadha	Ugra		
26 Jhalla	Rājguru	Jhalla	Kshatriya- Vratya	Shudra or Kshatriya	Vratya S	
27 M Ha	Jethi ‡	Wrestler	Jhalla	Kshatriya		
28 Vichuka	Ch tradhar or Wari	Umbrella holder	Brāhman	Vaidika		
29 Suda	Sayampāki	Cool	Suta	Vaidika		
30 Kānsyakāra	Bogar Kansar	Cumbr Bra- ier	Brahman	Amba htha		
31 Kīnasava	Tāmbat	Copper-smith	Kshatriya	Parashava		
32 Rathakāra	Sutār §	Carpenter	Mahushya	Charani Vajalaka		

Lower than Shudras

33 Vaidika Kara- na, or Chārana	Dhadi (?)		Vaishya	Shudra	Anuloma	
34 Kāyastha	Prabhu or Par bhu	K Parbhu	Vaidika	Mahushya		
35 Aparā Kayastha	Prabhu or Par bhu	Parbhu	Kāyastha	Kāyastha widow		
36 Parabhā	Parabhā		Vratya Pra- bhu brother	Prabhu sist- er	Incest	
37 Andhasyaka	Bhadabhunja	Grass-parakee	Vaidika	Shudra		
38 Manukāra	Vidharī	Jeweller	Kshatriya	Vaishya	Adultery	
39 Shalukana (?)	Katar	Turner	Shukāra	K yastha		

* This is a late interpolation the Jangams being the priests of the Lingayits a modern sect.

† From the Sanskrit *Jyestha*, last.

‡ Variety of the preceding.

§ Or Karnā

|| Insinuation from Brahmanical hatred the Kāyasthas, or Parbhūs being treated as inferior to the Brahmins in the matter of office-employment.

Caste	Sanskrit designation	Mardihi denomination	English designation	Male Parent	Female Parent	Proclamation
40 A yogava		P tharavaṭ	Stone-dresser	Shūdra	Vaiśya	Pratilo
41 Kumbhakāra		Kumbhār	Potter	Brāhman	Ugra	ma
42 Gandhaka		Gandhī	Perfumer	Ugra	Ambashtā	
43 Vatsakā		Gorākhī	Cowherd	Shūdra	Kānsyakāra	
44 Sindhra Mar danī (?)		Ang Mardani	Apprentice of guinea	Nalla	Kshatriya	
45 Chhāgalika		Shēlaka	Goat-herd	Kaśādhāna	Bandiyana or Magadhī	
46 Sindolika		Shimpī	Tailor	Shūdra	Bhanda	
47 Vāstra-Vikrayī		Kapadā-Vika nār Shimpī	Clothier- Tailor	Shūdra	Ayogava or Pāthara- vāṭa	
48 Shābala		Unknown*		Brāhman	Bandiyana	
49 Shankarighna		Shankarghna		Kayastha Prabhu	A yogava	
50 Mālikāra		Mali	Gardener	Mahishya	Nishada	
51 Phala Vikrayī		Phal Vikanār	Flower-seller	Brāhman	Kalavanta	
52 Kagalika		Kavadi Kashi	Fruit-seller	Shūdra	Ugra	
53 Jāyika		Jasud	Messenger	Nishada	Ugra	
54 Shayapāla		Phras	Bed-maker	Sairandhra	Dwāra-rak shaka	
55 Nishada-Pāra- shaya		Nicha-Sonār	Low-Sonār	Brāhman	Shūdra	
56 Mahāgura Ush trapāla		Karhekar	Camel-man	Kshata-Ni shāda	Avartaka	
57 Magutavallī (?)		Chora Rakshaka	Watchman	Ksh mak Brāhman	Bandiyana	
58 Bhasma-Sankara		Gurava	Dresser of Idols	Mahā Tap- asvī Brah man	Married Shūdra	
59 Suchala and Ku chalī		Gondhali	Musician	A nāma	Vaidhika	
60 Maitriya		Gondhali	Rude-Musi- cian	Vaidhika	Ayogava	
61 Citrakara		Shankavati and Rājavalah		A vartaka Kumbhar	Dhigvāpa	
62 Prasādika		Gaundī	Mason	A yogava	Kavartaka	
63 Aurabhira		Dhagar	Shepherd	Brījākanta	Chhagali	
64 Sangara (?)		Sangar	Slipper	Shūdra	A bhār	
65 Vaidhika		Kunta	Tip	Vaiśya	Brāhman	Pratilo
66 Kshēmaka		Dwāra-rakshī Chobdār	Door-keeper	Kshata Ni shāda	Ugra	ma
67 Uimuka		Lohar	Black mill	Kshatriya	Magadha	
68 Iyukāra Man- dālīk		Tigar and Ka mangar	Archer	A'bhīr	Bhikunsha	

The name said to be Sanskrit, does not seem genuine

<i>Caste Sanskrit deno- mination</i>	<i>Mardhi denomi- nation</i>	<i>English deno- mination</i>	<i>Male Parent</i>	<i>Female Parent</i>
69 I huk ra	Tirgar	<i>Archer</i>	Abhir	Kurutaka
70 Mausahika (?)	Til	<i>Oil man</i>	Parashava	Ura
71 N gavallī Vik rayī	Lamboli	<i>Bottle leaf seller</i>	Kanchari	Kumbhaka
72 Kāpachakāra	KanchKarand	<i>Glassmaker</i>	Shālmali	Artaka
73 Shakilya	Nichan Nih	<i>Lois Barber</i>	Nāpita	Māga
74 Shāmbhara	Shāl	<i>Weaver</i>	Ava taka	Vana
75 Kuravinda	Koshth	<i>Weaver and Spinner</i>	Artaka	Kuluta
76 Shaushika (?)	Tasarivalar Kosht	<i>Maker of coarse silk cloth Low Weaver</i>	Kuluta	Abhir
77 Nāgikāra	Nihli	<i>Indigodyer</i>	Abhir	Kakut
78 Baukika	Kit Louari	<i>Chemical dealer</i>	Malia	Aritaka
79 Yavika and Shakilya	Kind and Ch bukwar	<i>Cass-cutter Hoise Trainer</i>	Pulaka	Iulkasa
80 Patula	Pāngul	<i>Leper beggar</i>	Pulaka	Shudra
81 Dasyu	Bhāmatya	<i>Thieves</i>	Kirand	Kurutaka
82 Vana	Baharup	<i>Mask weavers Playmen</i>	Amulha	Vaidhika
83 Brikunsha	Jumbhaka and Ak	<i>Fortune-tell- ers etc</i>	Ayava	Mgadha Bailhika
84 Kalāvanta	Kalānta and Kavā	<i>Dancers</i>	Nat	Mulhika
85 Paughtika	Bhul	<i>Bees</i>	Prhman	Nishala
86 Pāshulpalya or Pashu Vikaraya	Wanjira	<i>Wanderer Barber</i>	Lanshika	Nishala
87 Karvartaka	Bhavar Kul	<i>Fisherman</i>	Panashava	Ayava
88 Dhyan	Jagar	<i>Dealer</i>	Brhman	Ayava
89 Kāramān	Shikalgar	<i>Tradesmen</i>	Descant not recorded	
90 Utāra	Otari	<i>Caster and Founder</i>	Karama	Chitrakara
91 Shuddha Mū- gaka	Chandash or Wasantri	<i>(Low) Musi- cian</i>	Mgadha	Mulshika
92 Krodhakukhuta	Kakul	<i>Miner</i>	Shadika	Khika Nihika

Lower than the preceding but higher than Chandulas

They do it inside in villas

93 Bandhukaka	Jhrikul	<i>Reflector of metallic dross</i>	Maitreya	Jadhika
94 Kāshatapatri	Badhul	<i>Box-maker</i>	Kavartika	Aitika
95 Dhūsakāra	Ghāsad	<i>Blacksmith</i>	Kārama	Ku

<i>Caste Sanskrit name</i>	<i>Malathi name</i>	<i>English designation</i>	<i>Malathi name</i>	<i>Female name</i>	<i>Profession</i>
96 Sha lika	Nilband	Owner of animals	hashajitra	Bráhma	
97 Karma Chándála	Bóldár	Stone-digger	Bráhma	Bráhma widow	
98 Mangu htha	Chuní Loníri	Lime-burner	Avartaka	Jáduka	
99 Manjusha	Parit	Washerman	Vaid hika	Ugra	
100 Nata	Kolhant or Dobári	Tumbler or Dancer	Shindhra	Khatrya	
101 Sunadhara	Chitra-kathi or Kald-Sutri	Doll-Dancer	A jogava	Rathakara	
102 Raji káia	Kajári	Rope-twister	Bryakantha	Avartaka	
103 Kshata Nishada	Phar se-Piradhi	Snarer	Shudia	Khatrya	Pratiloma.
104 Kishuka	Birud	Basket-maker	Kavartaka	Kuravinda	
105 Apura K nshuka	Kaika	Basket-maker	Nishada	Dhigana	
106 Khá rotpidaka	Katkar	Katkar	U hrap l	Bráhma	
107 Anushuka Man d lka	Kutwan	Dogman	Pushp shikhar	Karma Chándála	
108 Ah tundaka	Carudi	Player with s zents	Vaidhika	Nishada	
109 Ghofka	Vadif	Vadif	N hida	Ah tunda	
110 Charmaka or K rí Jra	Chumbhír	Soomaler	Dhigrapa	Nishada	
111 Vashir Gáyaka	Bisphod	Barber	Avartaka	Khatrya	
112 Chuladhya	Nicha Parit	Lotto Washer-man	Kavartaka	Karna	
113 Sumi	Khitik	Butcher	Karna-chándála	Kavartaka	
114 San hkalá	Kalál	Distiller	Vana	A bhír	

The touch of the following requires ablution of dress †

115 Durbhara	Mor	Carrier	A jogava	Dhigana
116 Meda	Gonla and Thakur	Go la and Hiker	Vaid hika	Khatrya
117 Bhilla	Bhilla	Bhilla	Kavartaka	Kavartaka
118 Billa	Ramu l and Bhrad	Barad Ramush	Ant vas yi	Pulkasa
119 Tavira	Lakh i or Nícha Otuf	Turners Deukis mla	Hastaka	Méda

From the Chandala to the Cannibal

120 Ch n lla	Hindu Halal	Scavengers	Shudra	Bráhma	Pratiloma.
121 Pilla	Dongar Kul	Hil Kul	Nishada	Shudra	

Julé tribe, makers of crotches

Wau lera, tribe rat-catchers, slave dressers &c

† सचेलमान, Sach 7 m m

<i>Age</i>	<i>San kr i da o- mi t on</i>	<i>Mardhi denon t at on</i>	<i>English de- ination</i>	<i>Male Pa-ent.</i>	<i>Female Parent</i>	<i>Processu</i>
122 Turushka		Gonda, Tuika man Mleoh cha etc *		Nishada	Médada	
123 Shvapaka†		Pratham Mahār	1 Mahār	Chándala	Pulkasa	
124 Antévasiyf		Dwitya Mahār Dom	2 Mahār	Chándala	Nishada	
125 Plava		Tritya Mahār	3 Mahār	Chándala	Andhra	
126 Kravyádhi		Chatur ho Ma hār	4 Mahār	Shvapaka	Plava	
127 Hastaka		Pancham Mahār	5 Mahār	Chándala	Kravyádhi	
128 Kátaka		Shhava Mahār	6 Mahār	Shvapaka	Hastaka	
129 Heshaka		Niche-Mahār	Low Mahār	Doma Anté vasiyf	Nátangi	
130 Chésa		Ah níchaMahār	Lowest Mahār	Turushka	Chándala	
131 Shrapacha		Máng	Mang	Chándala	Méda	
132 Mítunga		Máng	Low Mung	Plava	Antévasiyf	
133 Malyahār Yava na		Musalman Halál khor Sojar.	Soldier	Turushka	Súda	
134 Manushya Bhakshaka		Adam Khor	Cannibal	Chándala	Méda	

" Besides the Castes above enumerated, it is added to the Tables, " there are other Castes,—in the city of Puná eleven,—the origin of which cannot be explained according to the Shastras Altogether, the Recognized Castes in the Maratha Country amount to 145 The rank popularly assigned to these Castes does not in each instance accord with that established by the Shastras'

The list, though comprehending but the families and genera of the local Castes, is indeed, far from being complete But to this subject we must afterwards return in another connexion Our object at present has been merely to illustrate the principle according to which, in the orthodox view, varieties in Caste have originated. The mode of their actual development will require special and distinct notice.

This shows that the Bráhmans are but poor ethnographers

† Dog-eaters, the San kr it denominations, it will be observed are all attributed to the Mahárs a degradation ignal t lib h re arbit arily set forth of six degrees

‡ Let the British warrior mark the place here as assigned to him The Bráhmans as if to put the Sah ba here and they excus th msel s by saying that they ha e got a share f the Ropddh kára (authority of government) claimed by the ancient K hátryas Some of the Bráhmans hold that the Yavana d Europeans should take ank after the Turushkas but this is of little consequence as they are still left bet een the Chán dala and Cannibal

To this it has to be added, that the view of the origin and position of the castes here given is that to which orthodox Hinduism adheres to the present day. This is obvious not only from some of the authorities from which the preceding matter has been drawn, but from the representations constantly made by the Bráhmans in their intercourse with their pupils, and in their popular expositions of Hinduism, such as the *Hindu Dharma Tatva* of Gangádhara Shastri Phadake 'long the Pandit of the Bombay Education Society and Elphinstone College in Bombay published only in a few years ago *. This author tells us for example, that the *Brahman* has got intelligence (*buddhi*), disposing him to his own six peculiar works that the *Kshatriya* is directed by his nature to his appointed employments, that the *Vaishya* is urged by innate inclination to his prescribed work and that the *Shudra* is destined by his 'coarse intellect' to his mean engagements. The four first castes, he says, have existed from the creation, and those of the *Sanhata* (through the *Anuloma* and the *Pratiloma*) from early times. The number of castes, he holds, is on the increase to the present day, bringing them,—by differences and distinctions of country, of custom of conduct, of food and livelihood of works (good, indifferent, and low), of attachment to particular gods, and of sectarian opinion,—up to "thousands upon thousands. This increase, he adds, is doubtless "according to the will of God, and not without its advantages which should be acknowledged by the powerful Government of this country which would find it difficult to overthrow even the most modern of them. The advantages of caste, he begs the natives to observe, are undeniable, though he does not specify them, while there is nothing disgraceful in the meanest services prescribed by the caste system, the very *Shudras* having *Mahais*, and *Mangs*, and others, as much subordinated to them as they

* See *Hindu Dharma Tatva* pp 60 77

themselves are subordinated to the Bráhmans. To persons of low caste seeking learning, not called for by their original position, he expresses no good will, as he teaches that they will upset the order of things, to the production of general inconveniences and difficulties. In all this he is but a representative man of the orthodox, and still prevailing school. Old India directs its uniform effort to the conservation of caste with all its peculiarities and pretensions. Everything adverse to caste it interprets as a sure sign or omen of the advance of the Kali Yuga or iron age, preparatory to the destruction of the universe as guessed at in the curious attempts at prophecy made in the Puranas on the first threatenings or realization of Muhammadan conquest in the North of India.*

* The following very curious specimen of these prophecies is here worthy of attention —

"Men of three tribes — the Bédas and the Bháras will occupy the earth. A third tribe — the Arbudas — the Marbhums — and the Shúdas — the castes and the Bédas will be the rulers of the earth. The Dáríks, the Chandbhágs, and the Káshís. These will be the poets, the artists, the kings, the high priests, the warriors, and the rulers. They will see death in the men of the iron age, and when they will seize upon the property of the subjects they will be of limited power. They will for the most part rapidly rise and fall. They will be like the iron age as it is. They will play but little part. The people of the earth will turn against them. They will follow their example and the barbarian will grow powerful. In the present age of the earth, whilst the people are neglected, the people will perish. Wealth and unity will decrease day by day, until the world will be wholly depopulated. Then property and union will confer rank and wealth will be the only cause of devotion. There will be the sole bond of union between the sexes. Falsehood will be the measure of success in the game, and women will be objects merely of sensual gratification. Earth will be valued but for its treasures. The Brahman caste will constitute the Brahman; external types (the tall and red-garbed) will be the only distinct. The several orders of life and honesty will be the measure of the weakness. There will be the use of dependence. Men will be taught on will be substituted for the liberal will be held on simple ability. There will be purification in material sentiment will be material. There will be duty and reward. There will be teaming. In the present age, amidst all castes, he who is the greatest will reign over a principality thus vitiated by many faults. The people unable to bear the heavy burden imposed upon them by the ambitious soveraigns will take of the longest days of the month. They will be glad to feed upon wild honey, herb roots, flowers and leaves, their only cheer. They will be the bark of the sea and they will be exposed to the old sea winds and sun and no man's life will be long. Three and twenty years. Thus the Kali age shall decay completely. At the time approaches its annihilation. The Vishnu Purana pp. 481-482. The matter of the Mahabharata and the conclusion of the story of the Bhishma.

V —ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN CASTE

THE artificial system of Caste, to which the two preceding sections have been devoted, was not the growth of a single age, or even of a few centuries. The exhibition of its origin and development is the great desideratum in all researches into the history of the social life of India. It is to be regretted that the materials for such an exhibition are but of limited extent and of difficult interpretation. We arrange our notices of them, as far as practicable, in chronological order.

1 We begin with gleanings from the *Vedas*

The earliest sources of information on Indian society are, of course the oldest portions of the vast and varied body of Indian literature, denominated the *Vedas*. In referring to them for this information, which can be collected only with much labour, we must distinctly recognise their peculiar character as literary and religious works.

The word *Veda*, as we have elsewhere said, may be rendered Fount-of Knowledge or of Vision, its root appearing in the Greek $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\omega$ and $\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ Latin *video* and *video*, and English *wit**. The works to which this name is applied, however, have no comprehensive contents suitable to their designation,—which appears to have been given them merely because of their great age and estimated venerable character as embodying the religious songs and hymns of the ancient Indians.

* India Three Thousand Years Ago p 15

They are four in number the *Rig*, *Sama*, *Yajur* and *Atharva*. The *Rig Veda* which contains their oldest material and in its oldest form, has, in its *Sanhita* or collection, some 11,000 or 12,000 distichs or *Richas* (from whence it receives its name), arranged in *Suktas*, or Hymns, principally according to their authors and the gods to whom they are addressed. The *Yajur* (literally sacrificial) Veda, occurs in two collections—the *Krishna* or Black, the more ancient, bearing also the name of the *Taittiriya* (probably derived from the school or sect by whom it was formed)—and the *Shukla*, or White bearing also the name of the *Vájasaneyi*, of an origin similar to that now mentioned. A large portion of its materials in both forms is derived from the *Rig*, to about the half of which it is equal in the extent of matter in both of its forms united*. The *Sama Veda*, which is said by the Brahmans to have 7,000 verses,† draws almost the whole of its contents from the *Rig*, selecting them, however, in small portions from particular hymns, and arranging them principally for sacrificial chanting at the *soma* sacrifices by a particular class of priests ‡. The *Atharva Veda*, which is said

* In the Black *Yajur Veda*, there appear in the MS before me to be about 1836 distichs

† In Dr Stevenson's edition it occupies only some 3,395 lines. In Benfey's it has about 2733

‡ Though most of the Hymns (*Suktas*, laudations,—from *sá* good and *ukta* spoken) of the *Rig Veda* are intended for personal and family use, it is obvious from some of them of later composition than their associates in the *Sanhita* or collection that a somewhat definite order had been adopted by the parties acting as priests when these later hymns were composed. Thus, e.g. in R. V II 5 varga 17, we have

to have 6,015 verses, is posterior to the others in composition, and it is mostly filled with incantations and curses and blessings. It takes only a few of its pieces from the hymns of the Rig, and principally from those of latest composition.

The representation of what may be called the Vedic period of time is to be sought for principally in the *Rig-Véda*, because the pieces which it contains are found individually, though not in chronological arrangement, in their original form, and because it is the great fount from which the contents of the other Védas have, in so far as they represent that period, been drawn, and to it the chief inquiries into that period have to be directed.

The chronological limits of the oldest Vedic period, properly called by Dr Max Muller the *Chhandas*,—that in which the Chants or Songs of the Vedas were first composed,—has been shown by that able scholar, in perfect consistency with the researches of other orientalists, to range from between the year 1200 to 1000 B C * embracing the time, according to our received Hebrew chronology, intervening between Gideon the judge and Solomon the king, of Israel.

The light which the Vedas, viewed in connection with the language in which they are composed, throw on the ethnical relationship and geographical position and social condition, of the Indians at that remote period,

this verse “Thine, Agni, is the office of the *Hotr* of the *Potri*, of the *Ritvi* of the *Nesht*,¹ thou art the *Agudhra* of the devout thine is the function of the *Prashástrí*, thou art the *Adhvaryu* and the *Brahmá*, and the householder in our dwelling

* History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 572

though of a limited, is still of an interesting and valuable character

The language of the Vedas—which after it enjoyed posterior culture, came to be denominated the *Sanskrita* (literally *concreata*) or cultivated,—has been found to be intimately connected both in grammar and vocables not only with the ancient languages of Persia ultimately denominated the Zand and Pahlvi, but with the Greek, Latin Gothic, Celtic and other European languages, comprehended in the Indo-Teutonic family Of these languages it is not the parent, but the sister or cousin, as has been seen from their philological comparison, each of them throwing its own light on the peculiar forms and status in which their oldest words first became current, when established by conventional usage, and each of them containing proofs of subsequent invention and modification of words according to the cosmic and social experience, thought feeling, and culture of the divergent and, in some instances, widely separated tribes to which they belong They are merely fragments of an older language spoken by the progenitors of these tribes, acknowledging a common origin, and long kept united by intercourse and common interests On this matter a perfect consent of orientalists has been generated and expressed of late years The case has been well put by Dr Max Muller who, after giving examples of the grammatical affinity and verbal accordance of the cognate languages now referred to, thus writes — “Hence all these dialects point to some more ancient language which was to them what Latin was to the Romance dialects,—only that at that early period there was no liter

ature to preserve to us some remnants of that mother tongue that died in giving birth to the modern Aryan dialects, such as Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Windic and Celtic. Yet if there is any truth in inductive reasoning that language was once a living language, spoken in Asia by a small tribe, nay originally by a small family living under one and the same roof, as the language of Camoens, Cervantes, Voltaire and Dante was once spoken by a few peasants who had built their huts on the Seven Hills near the Tiber. If we compare the two tables of paradigms, the coincidences between the language of the Veda and the dialect spoken at the present day by the Lithuanian recruit at Berlin are greater by far than between French and Italian, and, after Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* has been completed it will be seen clearly that all the essential forms of grammar had been fully framed and established before the first separation of the Aryan family took place.*

The Sanskrit is more closely allied to what has been called the Zend † the language of the remains of the ancient Zoroastrian literature, than to any of its other cognate tongues. So much is this the case that some respectable orientalists, as the late General Vans Kennedy, ‡ and Mr John Romer of the Bombay Civil Service, § have

* Muller on Comparative Mythology (Oxford Essays, 1856) p. 13

† This word is widely applied by the Parsis both to the text and comments of their ancient books, but, as suggested by Dr Muller it is probably connected with the Sanskrit Chhandas, poetical metre or Chants

‡ Researches into the Affinity of Languages pp. 16, 132

§ Zend is it a language? London 1808

held that the Zand is merely an artificial fabrication from the Sanskrit made by the Parsi priests of India. On this matter we made the following remarks in 1842 — “Whether or not the Parsi priests in India, from their traditional reminiscences of the ancient languages could have fabricated some of the Zand writings, I shall not positively assert. There is a poverty in the expression of some of these writings, particularly of the minor liturgical pieces, which shows that their authors had no ready command of the language in which they wrote. There is an approach to Gujarati idiom in some instances, and to a Gujarati corruption of Sanskrit, which at one time awakened considerable suspicions in my mind. Viewing the matter of the Zand language, however, in its general aspect, I have no hesitation in declaring that none of the exiled and depressed Parsi priests in India can be supposed to have had the ability to invent that language with its extensive and minute grammatical forms, and with its abundant and regular analogies to the Sanskrit, Persian, Pahlvi, Greek, Latin, and Germanic languages, as so distinctly evinced by Bopp and Burnouf, and evident to the general student, and to write of a state of society altogether different from that in which they themselves were placed and in many respects dissimilar to that to which the legends of the Shahnamah and other similar works, to which they attach some importance, refer.” *

The judgment here expressed has been amply confirmed by the latest lingual researches both in Europe and India. It is now admitted by every competent

* Author's work on the Parsi Religion, pp. 406-7

philologist that both the Sanskrit and the Zand have not only had a common parent but that the people among whom they originally assumed their ultimate forms were longer united in social fellowship than the peoples diverging from the same common stock, with whom the Latin, Greek, and other Indo Teutonic languages received their peculiar expansion and culture. Most interesting has it been to observe that the predominant race mentioned in the Vedas bears through out these works the designation of *Aryya*, (or *Arya*) thus indicating the country from which it came to India—the *Arya* of the Parsi sacred writings, applied both generically to the land devoted to the doctrines and rites of the *Avasta* (the Zoroastrian liturgical course and code) as opposed to *Turya*, and specially to *Airyana Vaejō* the pure or primitive *Arya*. This *Arya* is the *Arya* of the Persian and the *Arriya* of the Scythian tablets of the Achæmenian Kings at Behistun*, the *Ariana* of the Greeks, recognized in the designation of the *Arian* people as early as the times of Herodotus†, and the eastern *Ian* of modern days. The value of this discovery, which belongs to European research, is enhanced and not diminished by the fact that the modern Brahmanical commentators on the Vedas have interpreted the word *Arya* merely as a designation, meaning

* See Rawlinson's Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions in Journal of R. A. S. vol. X. Westergaard, in Transactions of R. S. N. A., and Norris on the Scythic text of the Behistun Inscriptions, in J. R. A. S. vol. xv.

† See the passages of Herodotus, referring to this matter extracted and illustrated in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. II pp. 289, 290.

“respectable, as it testifies to the success with which foreigners, so long debarred from the acquisition and perusal of the Vedas, are now studying them. Though, as we have elsewhere said, ‘There are instances in the Vedas in which the word *Arya* seems to be used in the sense of high or respectable, this is perhaps a figurative use of the word, according to the well known analogy of our adjective ‘*frank*’ expressive of the qualities strikingly exhibited in the *Frank* people. In the event of *arya* or *arya* in the sense of high or “respectable, being the origin of the name of the country, *Arya* is probably equivalent to ‘Highlands.’* This opinion is strengthened by the notice taken of *Airyana Vaéjo* in the first fargard of the *Vandidad* of the *Parsis* which is there mentioned as the first of the countries created by *Ahura Mazda* or *Hoimazd*, and as having had a change of climate produced in it by *Anghro Mainyu* or *Ahriman*, giving according to one form of tradition mentioned in the text, ten months of winter and only two of summer, and according to another seven of summer and five of winter,—thus indicating, when the legends are interpreted, both a high elevation and a northern latitude. Professor Lassen supposes that this district was on the western slopes of the *Belurtag* and *Mustag*, in the district in which the rivers *Oxus* and *Jaxartes* rise, and that it formed the original seat of both the *Iranian* and *Indian* nations†. Its connexion with the former is rendered probable not merely by geographical considerations, but by the fact that *Persian* is spoken in the district to the pre-

* Author's *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, p. 17

† Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. 526-527

sent day by the oldest tribes of Kashghar, Yarkand, Khoten, Aksu (the Oxus land), Turfan and Khámúl *

On the course of the spread of the Aryas from the quarter now mentioned, but little light can now be shed. Their locations as comprehended in the districts known to the early Iranians are thus enumerated in the *Parsi Vandidad*. We give their names in parallel columns, with the identifications which have been made of them by several distinguished literary authorities

<i>I and dad.</i>	<i>Parsi.</i> (a)	<i>Burnouf</i> (b)	<i>Lassen.</i> (c)	<i>Haug</i> (d)
2 A ryana Vaejó Lughdho	I an Shurik	Ariana Sogdiana	Ariana Sgd	Ariana Gan of Suga cho†
3 Mouru	Marwa	Country of the two Marwas	Maru Marw	
4 Bâhdi	Boktârd	Bac ra	Bactra	Bactra
5 Nigâi	Nesapur	Nisara	Nisara	Nisara
6 Haroy u	Haleb (Aleppo)	Land of the Zarangæ and Drangæ §	Herat	Arta (of the Greeks) Her t
7 Vâskereta the Duzhak (Hell land)	Kâbul	Sej sâin	Sejst n with its capital Dushak	Sejstân
8 U vi	Orwé		Unknown	Kâbul
9 khenta with Behrkana	Gurgâna or Jurgân		Hyrcania	Kandahâr
10 Haraqat	Hermant	Arachosia	Arachotus	Arachosia
11 Hâstumat	Sistan	Etymandros (near Hermant river)	Etymandros	Hilmend (valley near river of same name)
12 Raghâ	Rei ¶		Paryas	Rhagæ of the classics pre t Rei
13 Chakhra	Chin		Chinrem of Fer dânsi	City in Khorâ ân
14 Varena	K rman or I adashkhur § ¶		Varuna of the Indians	Ghilân
15 Hapta-He il (Seven Rivers)	H ndustan	The Seven In dies	The Seven In dies	Indus C nt y (seven rivers)
16 (Described)	Khorâsân			Near the cr cumambient ocean.

* See Lassen *ut supra*.

† Off Pt kmay

‡ He ing fo ts dwell ng place Sugho

§ Etym logv re p ming with th Sar k it Sar ¶ Nea l herâ

(a) Auth lû si R hû p 294 (b) Co tair su l yâna

(c) I d che Althertl mskunde l p 327 26

(d) f st Ch pter f Vandidâd in Bunsen s Egypt ol m pp 473 506

The Baron Bunsen* thinks that the districts above mentioned were the halting places of the Aryas in their gradual march and progress by extension, to the land of the Seven Rivers, but without taking this easy view of what may be only a general geographical notice according to the notions of the ancient Zoroastrians, we may nevertheless refer to the first fargard of the Vandidad as throwing some light on the expansion of the Aryas in the direction of India, into which they probably entered either by the western passes of the Hindu Kush, by the eastern road leading from Kabul to the Indus or from Hirat, round the promontories of the Paropamisus through Arachosia to Ghazna, and thence by the Boland Pass to the Indus †

On the position of the Aryas in their original Indian seats, we have lately thus written —

“At the time at which the earlier portions of the Vedas were composed the Aryas were principally located on the banks of the various affluents of the Indus and the province now denominated the Panjáb. Though Sayana Acharya, the great Brahmanical commentator on the Vedas, who flourished so late as the fourteenth century after Christ, interprets the rivers mentioned in the Vedas as the great streams of modern India, the text of the Veda gives him no authority for so doing. The rivers of the Vedas seem all to have been before the immediate observation of the writers of the Hymns (*Súktas*) of which the collection of the Rig Veda is com-

* Egypt iii p 459 99

† These are the routes indicated by Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde* i. p 581) Dr M. Muller (*Hist. of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* p 15) also joins with them the narrow passes of the Himalaya.

posed ‘Thou India hast rescued the kine thou hast won the Soma juice, thou hast let loose the *seven rivers* to flow * Thou didst traverse *ninety and nine streams* like a hawk ‘His exploits are most glorious, in that he has replerished the *four rivers* of sweet water, spread over the surface of the earth † “All (sacrificial) viands concentrate in Agni (the god of fire) as the *seven great rivers* [united] flow into the ocean.”‡ In the Panjab, we have four or five or seven or more great rivers, according as we cross it to the North or South It is obviously this district which is denominated in the Vandidad of the Pairsis as above the *Hapta Hendu*§ or Seven Indies, the word Hendu springing from *Sindhu*, the Sanskrit name of the Indus Indeed, the Indus is specifically mentioned in the Veda as that river on the banks of which some of the composers of the Vedas actually lived Thus we have, “May *Sindhu*, the renowned bestower of wealth hear us (fertilizing our) broad fields with water ¶ ‘I repeat with a (willing) mind the praises of Bhavya [a king] dwelling on the banks of the *Sindhu* || In one of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, three specific streams are thus mentioned as connected with the worshippers of the Vedas — Gloriously shine forth

* Wilson's Rig Veda, Vol 1 p 88 See also p 99

† Ibid p 168

‡ Ibid p 189

§ Vandidad 1st fargard

¶ Sayana Acharya as hinted by Prof Wilson, Rig Veda, II p 3 understands by the word *Sindhu* here जलमिमानी देव the god presiding over waters Even in this sense, however, it is nothing but the personified Indus

O Agni in the places in which the descendants of Manu, [the first or representative Aryan man] inhabit, on the banks of the *Drishadvatī*, the *Apayā*, and the *Sarasvatī* * These streams I am of opinion are connected with the south-western and not with the south-eastern system of Indian rivers. Two of them are thus noticed by Manu 'The country between the divine rivers Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī formed by the gods, is called Brahmanavarta † The Sarasvatī is the Sarsuti north west of Thaneshwar (Sthaneshwar) as noticed by Professor Wilson in his Vishnu Purana ‡ It seems from the manner in which it is sometimes spoken of in the Vedas, to have been a favourite with the Aryas, § and this probably because of some resemblance,—such perhaps as that of losing itself in the sands for it etymologically means a lake—which it bore to the *Haragatī* a river in the original Auyā, of which it was the namesake || The Drishadvatī is supposed

* दृषद्वत्या मानुष आपयाया सरस्वत्या रेवदग्ने दिदीहि Text of Rig Veda by Muller vol II p 747

† Manu II 17 Sir William Jones says, 'frequented by the gods, but the original स देवनिर्मित, formed by the gods.

‡ Wilson's Vishnu Purana p 180

§ Vasishtha devotes to it alone two hymns in the 5th Ashtaka of the Rig Veda

|| For the identification of the name *Haragatī* with *Sarasvatī* we are indebted to Burnouf (Commentaire sur le Yajna, Notes et Eclaircissements, p xcii) From *Haragatī*, the district of *Arachotia* of the Greeks (Arrian Exped Alex III cap 28, Strab lib xv c 2, Dionys. Perieg v 1096 Plin lib vi cap 25) derived its name. Burnouf, while ascribing a common origin to the names *Haragatī* and *Sarasvatī*, felt unable to say whether Persia or India can claim the original. Noticing however, the district of Harôyo,

to have been in the neighbourhood of the Sarasvati. I am not aware that the *Apaya* has been identified though it may be the *Vipapa*, mentioned in the *Mahabharata** along with the *Dishadvita* and *Vipasha*. In another of the hymns of the Rig-Vêda, the rivers *Vipat*—the equivalent according to etymology and to the Brahminical commentator on the Vêda of the *Vipasha* of the *Mahabharata*, and the origin of the present *Beas*,—the *Hyphasis* or *Bibasis* of the Greeks and the *Chhutudra*—in later times the *Shatadri* or *Satley*—are mentioned as holding a conversation with the sage Vishvamitra the author of many of the Vêdic hymns† The *Vipasha* and the dwellers on the *Vitasta*,—the *Hydaspes*, or *Jhelum*—and the *Saryu*, (probably not that near Ayoধ্য) are mentioned in a hymn of Vamdeva‡ It is thus seen that the Punjab and its neighbourhood formed the original habitat of the Indian Aryas. The rivers of the south-

mentioned in the *Vindidad* of the *Paisis* and identifying the word with *Sarayu* the name of an Indian river (now the *Saryu*) he justly observes that the *And Hauro* is the more ancient form of the word as far as the vowels are concerned (p. ciii. et seq.) Less concern in the views of Burnouf. He notes also the agreement of the *And Hauro* with the *Ha al hauri* of the cuneiform inscriptions and of the people too of these inscriptions called *Haruru* (in the plural) connected for *Harayana* from *Haraya* the river now named the *Heri* *ru*† The name of *Harayu* (*Sarayu* in Sanskrit) he thinks was given in after times by the Indians to the river near Ayoধ্য, in commemoration of that of *Alachoria*.

* *Bhishma Parva* ii. 342. Langlois, in his translation of the Rig Vêda, tom. ii. p. 230 says, 'Je ne sais quelle est la rivière qui portait le nom de *Apaya*'.

† *1^o Vêda* Muller's text vol. ii. p. 828.

‡ *Rig Vêda* 3d Adh. 6th Asht. 20th—22d v.

eastern system are brought to notice in the more advanced portions of the Rig-Veda. The *Yamuna* and the *Gomati* are first mentioned by Sharyavashva, 'a descendant of Atri' in the fourth Ashtaka.* The *Ganga* (Ganges) is only once mentioned, and that in the eighth or last Ashtaka.† I have seen no allusion to the tiger in the Védas, though occasional mention is made in them of the lion. This is a presumption that the Rishis at the time of their composition, had not yet reached the land of the tiger. The distinctive lake Sharyanavati is sometimes

* Rig Veda 4th ashtak, 3d adhy (Muller ii 452) The *Yamuna* is also mentioned by Vasishtha, viewed by the Hindu legends as a contemporary of Vishvamitra, Rig Veda 5th asht 2d adh. In reference to the Gomati Professor Wilson 27th Varga (iii p 346) says 'It would be the Gomati river in Oude or it may be a river of the same appellation, more to the north west rising in Kulu, a feeder of the Beyah or Vyāsa.

† This is in a hymn addressed to the personified Rivers, the 4th of the 3rd adhy. In this hymn, the *Sindhu* (which is in the masculine gender, while all the others are in the feminine) is spoken of as the chief river. With it are invoked other rivers in the following order—*Ganga*, *Yamunā*, *Sarasvatī*, *Shutudrī*, with the *Parushni*, the Hydrazes from Irāvati, the *Asikni*, the Chandrabhāga (identified from the "Akesines" as by Lassen) and the *Marudvridha*, the *Vitasta* (Hydaspes for Vydaspes), the *Arjukiya* with the *Sushoma*, the *Trishtama*, the *Rasā*, the *Sveti* and the *Kubhā* (associated with the *Sindhu*) [probably the Kophen] and the *Gomati*, and the *Krumu*. The *Rasā* several times alluded to in the Vedas, the *Kubhā*, the *Anutabnā*, the *Krumu*, and the *Sarayu* are mentioned by Shyavāshva in the hymn following that in which he mentions the *Yamuna*. Rig Veda, 4th asht 3d adh 12th v. These in all probability were connected with the same (the *Sindhu*) system of rivers. In R V 4th asht 7th adh. 26th varga, the adjective *Gāngya*, probably meaning "flowing, or swift, river, occurs

mentioned as in the dominions of the pious Rikya. It is supposed to have been in what was afterwards known as the country of Kurukshétra.*

The Aryas in India, if we may judge from the Vêda and other later works, take little or no notice of their entrance into the country from other regions of the world. Yet the intelligent reader of the Vêdas can easily infer that when the materials of these works were prepared, the Aryas of whom they treat were not in their primitive country. They counted their years by winters, indicating a country in which the cold season was peculiarly marked†. They laid great stress on the *ashvamédha*, or horse-sacrifice like the northern tribes. Compared with their neighbours they had a white or fair complexion. They were not fully or peaceably established in the territories in which they were then found. The facts to which I have now referred have not escaped the notice of the learned and cautious translator of the Rig-Vêda, Professor H. H. Wilson. "That they (the ancient Indians), he says, had extended themselves from a more northern race is rendered probable from the peculiar expression used, on more than one occasion, in soliciting long life, when the worshipper asks for a hundred winters (*hmas*), a boon not likely to be desired by the natives of a warm climate. They appear also to have been a fair-complexioned people, at least comparatively, and foreign

* 7th asht 2d Adh 5th varga. India Inree Thousand Years ago, p. 21 25

† Dr Stevenson was, I believe, the first person to direct attention to this fact. See his translation of the Sama-Vêda, p. 86. In addition to this first translation of the Sâma, we have that of Dr Benfey,

invaders of India as it is said that Indra (the god of the Ether or Firmament) divided the fields among his *white-complexioned* friends after destroying the indigenous barbarian races, for such there can be little doubt we are to understand by the expression *Dasyu* which so often recurs, and which is often defined to signify one who not only does not perform religious rites but attempts to harass their performers * The *Dasyus*, here mentioned, are doubtless the *Dagys* of the Parsi sacred writings and the *Dahyas* of the Behistun tablets, rendered by 'countries' or provinces probably of an exterior position like the Goum or Gentiles of the Hebrews. They were not altogether barbarians, for they had distinctive cities and other establishments of at least a partial civilization, though the Aryan lately from more bracing climes than those which they inhabited proved too strong for them †

That the Aryas of India had been most intimately connected with the Iranians we have decided proof, not only in the relationships of their language, and their common designation now adverted to, but in much which (with certain antagonisms easily understood on the principle of posterior religious speculation and contest) was common in their early religious creed and observances. Many of the gods, or objects of worship of the Vêda and the Avesta are identical. Each of these works has its god of Fire in *Agni* and *Ata*s, which, however, are probably not etymo

* Wilson's Rig Veda, vol 1 p xlii.

† Author's India Three Thousand Years Ago p 19. In the Vêda, 3d asht 1st adh 12th varga Indra and Agni are represented as overthrowing ninety cities of which *Dâsas* were the lord (*dasa patih purah*)

logically connected with one another *Vayu* or *Vatu* the Vedic Wind, is the Zandic *Vaya* or *Vata*. The Indian designations of the Sun *Asura*, *Mitra*, *Sár*, *Súrya* and *Sar* find their equivalents in the Iranian *Ahura*, *Mithra*, *Hvare* (gen *hu ó*), often given as *Hvare-Kshaēta* the ruling or glorious sun. Corresponding with the Sanskrit *Ushas*, the Dawn, we have the Zandic *Ushaongh*. The moon (*Chandī*) *mas* of the Veda is recognized as the *Maongh* of the *Avasta*. The *Apah* or Waters, personified in the Vedas, and the *Aptyas* there represented as water gods, have as their correspondents, in the *Avasta*, *Apó* and *Athvya*. Among the personifications of the Veda is *Agha*,* the goddess of evil, corresponding in some respects (though not with the dualistic notions of Zoroaster) with the *Ahriman* of the *Parisis*, or in Zend *Anghró-Mainyu*, the ugly-minded or evil-minded-one. In the Vedic *Varuna* (the *οὐρανός* of the Greeks) we have in the idea of boundless heavenly space, the correspondent of the *Varena* of the *Avasta*. The *Vishvé-Dévas*, spoken of in the Vedas as the Collective gods, and sometimes as special gods, the Protectors of men correspond with numerical and other modifications, with the *Amsháspands* and *Izads* of the *Parisis*†. The *Pitris*, or typical

* See Note in *India Three Thousand Years Ago* p. 72

† The Zand word for *Izad* is *yazata* which means an object of worship. It corresponds exactly with the Sanskrit यज्ञ *yajata*, which occurs in the *Rig Veda* (*Samhita* B. I. ch. iii. h. 34. st. 7) and which is explained by Sayana the commentator by यज्ञ *yashtavya*, and rendered by Rosen *sacris celebrandus*. M. Burnouf translates it by 'digne qu'on lui offre le sacrifice'. See *Journal Asiatique* Octobre 1840. The Zand for *Amsháspand* is *amesha-spen'ta*. The words of which this name is composed are correctly represented by *Edal Daru* (*Muyazat* i. *Zarthusht*, p. 20).

ancestors often addressed in the Védas, correspond with the Parsi *Faruhars** The *Soma* as a plant and a the fermented juice of a plant, much used in sacrifice and as a deified power delighting god and exhilarating man even to inspiration, stands in the same relationship in the *Haoma* of the *Avasta*. In the ninth Ha of the *Yagna* or the *Pársis*, *Haoma*, as a god, is represented as teaching Zoroaster that the first peisen who consulted him was *Vivanghao*, the father of *Yimó*, or Jamshid, the second, *Athrva* the father of *Thrayétyaonó*, or Faridun, the third *Sám*, the father of *Urvákhshyo* and *Kereçacpó*, and the fourth *Paourusacpo*, the father of *Zarathustra*, or Zoroaster† In the Vêda most of these concepts appear with their own peculiarities. The correspondent in the Veda of *Yimo*,—who with the Iranians was then first or ideal man the great establisher of their colonization and agriculture and pecoriculture,—is *Yama*, the Subduer or God of human Destiny, dealing with the human race, not in its earthly golden age, but in its ultimate state beyond the grave‡ The father of *Yama*, in the Vêda, is *Vnashvat*, the *Vnarghat* or *Vivanghao* of the *Yagna*. The wife of *Yama* in the Vêda is *Yami* the wife or sister of *Yimo*, and (to judge from the Parsi

by exalted immortals [or existences or saints] Author's work on Parsi Religion p 129

* The nominative singular is in Zand *Farashis*. The noun is feminine. The Zand names, or rather denominations, of the *Faruhars* have a figurative meaning.

† Author's Parsi Religion p 400

‡ See Westergaard on Ancient Iranian Mythology in J B P 1 A 8 1853

Bundeshne) *Jem* or *Jemak** *Trita* or *Traitana* (the adjective form of the same name) is a mythological personage of the Veda associated with *Yama*, and as pointed out by Dr Roth the correspondent of *Thrayét* *sona*† *Kriegsago*, as shown by the same scholar, has also a figurative position in the Veda *Nabanzdistā* and *Vabhanédishtha* the son of Manu (R V viii 1 29) are also remarkable mythical accordances, both in the Avasta and Veda‡ The form of the hymns of the Yagna and the Yagts of the Avasta, as noticed many years ago has much resemblance to that of the Veda The designations, both characteristic and technical, of the priests and worshippers of the Veda and of the Avasta often agree¶ So do the words used in these works expressive of praise and sacrifice|| And so do some of the common instruments of worship is the

* Dr Roth to whom we are greatly indebted for the illustration both of the Veda and Avastā first brought this coincidence to notice in the *L D M G* vol iv p 4 7

† See *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg Ges* band ii s 216 and abstract of Roth's paper by Dr J Murray Mitel in *Journal of B B R A* 5 July, 1852 *Athwya* (in Persian *Atvin* or *Abtin*) as mentioned in the passage from the Yagna quoted above, is the father of *Thraé yano* The patronymic of *Trita*, in the Veda (R V i 7 v 21) is *Aptya* a water ruler *Trita* in the Veda fights against the aerial serpent (*akus*) or enemy, carrying off the cows (clouds) which would otherwise yield their nourishing milk and *Thraetaona* opposes the *ashu dahak*, the destroying (earthly) serpent, the author of evil

‡ See Lassen's *Ind Altherthumskunde*, i 516

¶ See *Parsi Religion* by the Author, pp 226 227 To the instances there given that of the Sanskrit *Atharva* and the Zend *Athrava*, a priest, literally a Frieman (ut sup p 209) may be added

|| *Parsi Religion*, pp 268 271

Havm of the Brahmans and the *Haiana* of the Parsis * Even the divergency and antagonism of the religion of Zoroaster from that of the Rishis of the Vedas is in many particulars like that which in the course of speculation and reform might easily appear among a people originally associated together but afterwards following a peculiar religious and social development. The word *Deva* (or *Devās*) as has often been shown, must have been a designation in the original Iranian race of any Divinity before even the separation from one another of the peoples known as Greeks and Romans (in whose languages it appears as *θεος* and *Deus*) and it could only be the peculiar mythological and idolatrous application of the term by the progenitors of the Indians or by the Indians themselves which led the Zoroastrians to employ it as a designation of a Devil. In the Vedas the word *Asura* is applied to the Sun and Fire in the sense probably of Lord or Master, but the Brahmans as if retaliating against the Zoroastrians, who had applied it to their good God, in the form of *Ahura-Mazda*, or multiscient Lord made it afterwards the designation of a Devil † Even in many of the hymns of the Vedas the terrestrial enemies of the Aryas, as well as their unseen enemies, are denominated *Asuras*, as will immediately appear. In illustration of the connection of the Iranians and Aryas, other circumstances bearing especially on physiognomy could, if necessary, be brought forward. The great fact to be borne in mind is, that the Aryas are first found in India as strangers

* Compare *Ātman* of Brahmans in § 19 with *Vahid* of Parsis, *faig* xiv

† See Note in *India three Thousand Years Ago* p. 78

and foreigners not fully established in the land as will still more appear from passages now immediately to be adduced from the Rig Veda

In the Rig Veda, as might be expected from the fact that it consists of laudations and sacrificial songs of the Gods, no formal and direct information on the early social state of the Aryan community is to be expected. It is only from poetical and historical allusions there occurring that anything can be learned respecting the society of their own day or of more ancient times. These allusions however are pretty numerous and when compared together productive of curious and valuable results. In collecting the information to be found in the Vêda bearing on the origin and growth of Caste, it is necessary to look to the Aryan community in two distinct aspects—that which respects its connection with the exterior partly amalgamated or hostile, tribes with which it came in contact and that which respects its own social condition and development

The ARYAS, we find from the Rig-Veda, though in some respects an interesting people, and considerably advanced in civilization * had the pride of race in an extravagant degree. They were an aspiring and domineering, and an intolerant people, with strong antipathies of race and religion, and showing great contempt and hatred of the other tribes with whom they came in contact. As this pride of race violence and intolerance were special features of Caste when formally established, it may be well for us to collect the principal notices which we have of their earliest manifestations in the Veda now mentioned

“ Discriminate O Indra between the *Aryas* and those who are

* See India Three Thousand Years Ago pp 29 34

Dasyus punishing those who perform no religious rites (*avītan*) compel them to submit to the sacrifices be thou the powerful the encourager of the sacrificer (Rig Veda, asht 1 adh 4 varga 11)

Munificent hero (India) who easily conquerest thy foes, thou didst put to flight (under Kutsa) the *Dasyus* in battl (Ib 1 5 4)

India the invoked by many attended by the moving Muruts, having attacked the *Dasyus* and the *Shamyus* slew them with his thunderbolt the thunderer then divided the fields with his white complexioned friends (Ib 1 7 11)*

‘ (We invoke India) who is the lord of all moving and breathing creatures who first recovered the line for the *Brahman* (the repeater of the *Brahma* or word†) and who slew the humbled *Dasyus* (1 7 12)

‘ Armed with the thunderbolt and confident in his strength he (Indra) has gone on destroying the cities of the *Drasus* O Indra, the wise, the thunderer cast thy shaft against the *Dasyu* and augment the strength and glory of the *Arya* (1 7 16)

Sweeping away the *Dasyu* with the thunderbolt thou Ashwins have bestowed brilliant light upon the *Arya* (1 8 17)

“ Indra who in a hundred ways is the protector in battles in heaven conferring battles has preserved in the fray the strengthening *Arya* Punishing the destitute of rites he subjected the black kin to Manu (the Aryan or privileged man) (11 1 19)

Destroy Indra the tawny coloured fearfully rousing *Pishchis* annihilate all the *Rakshasas* (11 1 22)‡

India, lord of steeds, invigorated by our munitions pursue thou hast slain those who make thee no offerings and disturb thy warrior peers. (11 4 17 ||)

Consume mighty one the unreligious *Dasyu*, as a wooden vessel is burnt by fire (11 4 18) Thou hast disclosed light to the *Arya*

The translation of this verse is given to that of Professor H H Wilson who I think substantially correct as *Shamyu* (which may be translated destroyer as done natively in Muir's Sanscrit Texts vol. pp. 384) is evidently coupled in the Veda with *Dasyus* used in a personal sense

† Sāyana Achārya (Muller's Text of Rig Veda 1 p 807 applies *Brahmana* here used to the *Brahmanayitu* or Brahman Caste But this goes too far on modern Brahmanical principles

‡ Here both *Pishchis* and *Rakshasas* (soon viewed by the Hindus as devils) are seemingly spoken of as a people

1 Wilson's R V II 1 17s

the *Dasyu* has been placed at thy left hand Let us honour those who through thy protection, surpass all their rivals as the *Dasyus* are surpassed by the *Aryas* (ii 6 6)

"Encountering the (*Asuras*) carrying off Dabhiti he burnt all their weapons in a kindled fire, and enriched (the prince) with the cattle their horses, and their chariots (ii 6 15) 'Thou hast slain the *Dasyus*, Chumuri and Dhuni having cast them into sleep thou hast protected Dabhiti (ii 6 16)

'He (India) slew the *Dasyus* and destroyed their non cities (ii 6 26)

'Pluck up the *Rakshas* Indra by the root cut asunder the middle blight the summit to whatever remote regions thou hast driven the sinner, cast upon the hater of the (ceremonial) word (*brahma*) thy consuming weapon (iii 2 4)

Having slain the *Dasyus* he protected the *Arya* colour (or race) (*arna*) (iii 11 17)

What do the cattle for thee among the *Kikatas* they yield no milk for the offerings to Soma and they heat no fire (for the sacrifice), bring (also) the wealth of Piamagandha (the usurer?) and subdue to us, Maghavat (India) the vile branch (or stock) of the people (*nachashalam*) †

'Defending him (a poet *kavi*) with thy protection the godless impious (*Máyavanbrahma*, (mad against the Brahma) *Dasyu* has been destroyed in the contest for the spoil With a mind resolved on killing the *Dasyu* thou comest thou hast swiftly destroyed the *Dasyus* (iii 5 18)

Indra, O Soma, has slain the *Dasyus* in battle Agni has consumed them before the noon (iii 6 17)

Prasadasyu† has bestowed upon many the ancient (gifts) which were obtained by the liberal (prince) through your (favour Heaven

See p 1

† On this important passage Prof H H Wilson (R. V iii p. 86) has the following note —The *Kikata* are said by Sáyana following Yáska Nir vi 32 to be countries inhabited by *Andryas* people who do not perform worship, who are infidels *Nástikas* [rather non Arvans] *Kikata* is usually identified with South Behar showing apparently that *Vaidik* Hinduism had not reached the province when this was said or as *Kikata* was the fountain head of *Buddhism*, it might be asserted that the *Buddhists* were here alluded to if it were not wholly incompatible with all received notions of the early date of the *Veda*. *Kikata* I think must have been due to the earlier

and Earth) you too have given a horse a son, a weapon (for the destruction of the Dasyus fierce and foe subduing (iii 7 11)

Twofold is my empire [says the King Trasadasyu, so called from harassing the Dasyus] —that of all the Kshatriya people, and all the immortals are ours the gods associate me with the works of Varuna I rule over those of the human form (iii 7 17)

‘With the thunderbolt thou hast confounded the voiceless (or noseless) *Dasyus*, thou hast bestowed in battle the speech bereft foes (iv 1 24)*

“Indra the subduer of all, the *Arya* (or Lord) leads the *Dása* according to his wish (iv 2 4)†

‘Thou (Indra) art he who hast quickly subdued the *Dasyus* thou art the chief one who hast given preservation to the *Arya*’ (iv 6 4)

“Make hot the heavens, earth, and firmament, for the oppressive race parent of showers consume them everywhere with thy radiance make the heaven and the firmament too hot for the haers- of the *Brahma* Thou hast rendered human enemies whether *Dásas* or *Aryas* easy to be overcome (iv 6 4‡)

‘Glorified by us he (Indra) bows not down to the robust nor to the firm nor to the persevering (worshipper) who is instigated by the *Dasyus* Overthrow, on the part of the *Arya* all the *Dasa* races everywhere abiding (iv 6 18 19)

‘Thou hast destroyed the hundred impregnable cities of the *Dasyu* Shambara. (iv 7 3)§

seats of the *Aryas* than South Belar M Vivien de Saint-Martin (*Muir Texts* ii xxv) thinks that the country of the *Kikot* must probably have been in Koskela or Andh. In rendering the above verse we have compared the versions of P & H R Wilson and Mr Muir with the original

Andso dasyun amri ak Andsa Sáyan s vs means *yara* i n devoid or deprived of words *dasya* face o mouth being put by metonymy for *shabda* the sound that comes from the mouth articulate speech alluding possibly to the uncultivated dialects of the barbarous tribes Prof Muller (*Universal History of Man* i 346) referring to this text proposes to substitute *and* into *and* the nose noseless Wilson’s R V iii p 216

† इन्द्रो विश्वस्य दमिता विभीषणो यथा वशं नयति दासमाय ॥

‡ आ जनाय द्रव्यणे पार्थिवान दिव्यानि दायिषी भनारक्षा

§ तपा दधन्वश्चत क्षोत्रिषा तान्ब्रह्माद्रुषे ज्ञाचय क्षमाभयश्च ॥

§ Shambara is more usually styled an *Asura* and hence it would appear that *Dasyu* and *Asura* are synonymous Prof H H Wilson P V iii p 444

“Agni has dispersed the impious, the chattering, faithless, riteless, non-sacrificing Panis, the *Dasyus*” (v 2 9)

“Thou hast, for the sake of Dabhiti vanquished the *Dasyus* Chumuri and Dhuni (v 2 29)

“Put an end to the enmity which divides the *Dasyus* and the *Aryas* (v 6 4)

“Indra and Soma burn the Rakshas, destroy them throw them down, ye two Bulls, the people that grow in darkness Hew down the mad men, suffocate them, kill them, hurl them away and slay the voracious Indra and Soma, up together against the cursing demon ! may he burn and hiss like an oblation in the fire ! Put your everlasting hatred on the villain who hates the Brahman [or rather *brahma* etc], who eats flesh (raw), and whose look is abominable * (v 7 5)

“Favour the prayer (Brahma) favour the service kill the *Rakshasas* drive away the evil (vi 3 16)

“Thou Indra favourest our rites thou satisfiest (by retribution) thy revilers thou most excellent and powerful hero, hast smitten the *Dasa* in the middle of his thigh Let Parvata, our friend Parvata, with a powerful stroke strike down from the height the riteless, inhuman, non-sacrificing godless *Dasyu* (vi 5 9 10)

“Thou, Indra art the friend of the offering the Lord of heaven thou overturnest the stable cities thou destroyest the *Dasyu* and givest increase to Manu thou Lord of heaven (vi 7 1)

“O Indra object of our prayers let the godless (*adharma*) whether he be an *Arya*† or a *Dasyu*, who wages war against us, be vanquished by us (vii 8 14)

“Thou hast for the sake of the *Aryas* vanquished the *Dasyus* (viii 2 19)

I, Indra, come recognizing and marking the distinction of the *Dasyu* and the *Arya* (viii. 4 4)

“This person humbled and subdued the roaring *Dasa* (here viewed as an aerial monster) with six eyes and three heads (viii. 5 14)‡

* In this passage the spirited translation of Dr Max Müller (Last Results of the Turanian Researches p. 344) has been adopted A closer translation of the same import is with the original given by Dr John Muir (Sanskrit Texts, ii. 406)

† In the Rîg Vêda particular the seventh and eight *Astaks* *Aryas* hostile to the *Râhu* are mentioned as above.

‡ Several other passages of this character occur See *Sanskrit Texts* ii. 403.

The *Arya* has been able to measure himself with the *Dasyu* Indra the ally of Rishvan has destroyed the villages of Pipra the magical (*Magina*) *Asura* (iii 7 26)

These passages and others of a like nature which could be adduced not only bring to notice in the neighbourhood of the early Indian settlements of the *Aryas*, the existence of races different in colour creed, and customs from these *Aryas* but reveal the deep-seated hatred and contempt of these races by the *Aryas*, who delighted to wage war against them on religious grounds, rejoiced in their conquest and overthrow, and even applied, in the progress of time, their names and designations to the imaginary aerial and spiritual beings which in their superstitious imaginings, they believed to be in a constant state of hostility to their own persons and social and religious institutions. The violent antipathy and hate of race and religion, thus early manifested have continued to be among the most potent and injurious elements of Caste to the present day. The *Aryas*, and the tribes taken by them into alliance, have ever nourished and cherished them, particularly as applied to the lower tribes of the country, in the different provinces of India in which they have been established.

It will have been noticed that the prevailing epithet of the people, or peoples to whom in the preceding extracts the *Aryas* are represented as opposed, is that of *Dasyu*. We have already mentioned what we consider the original meaning of the denomination—*Gentes*, those of the country,* or Aborigines or *Natives*. The Iranian correspondents of the name warrant us to attach to it this meaning. With reference to its peculiar implica-

* See above, p 88

tions, however Dr Max Müller says '*Dasyu* in the Vêda is enemy * The Brahmans to the present day marking their traditional animus, make it the equivalent of *slave* and *robber*

Rakhasa, it will also have been seen is another denomination given to the tribes to whom the Aryas placed themselves in hostility Etymologically it means the strong 'the powerful, the protecting' the gigantic As applied to an aboriginal people it is used in the Veda very much as the word *Rephaim* is used in the Hebrew scriptures By the Aryas it soon had a purely mythological meaning attached to it characteristic of both terrestrial and aerial 'monsters In the Shatapatha Brahmana of the White Yajur Veda the *Rakhasas* are represented as prohibitors, that is "prohibitors of sacrifice †

Asura is another denomination given by the Aryas to their enemies It is somewhat difficult to ascertain its import We have already found it used as a designation of the Sun probably in the sense of Lord or Master its root being possibly *as* to be Perhaps like the word *Nayak* (dux) in modern times, it was in this sense applied to the aboriginal tribes on account of the number of their heads of clans ‡ With the Aryas, how

* Comparative Mythology in Oxford Essays 1856, 24 Dr M with the Persian equivalents in his eye says 'It is hardly doubtful that the Greek *ἄστυ* represents the Sanskrit *ḍasa-pati* lord of nations

† See Weber in Z D M C iii 269 sq

‡ The word *Nak* the contraction of *Nayak* is the common epithet (of respect) used by the lowly Mahars of the Maratha country From the abundance of *Naks* connected with the Bhills of the Bâra junghs, east of Barcila, they are called *Nakadas*

ever, the *Asuras* were soon viewed as wicked, malicious spirits, as opposed to the *Súras*, or deities

From the references which are made in the Vedas to the power resources appliances, and residences of the *Dasyus*, it is manifest that they were found in no contemptible position by the *Aryas* when they entered India. The subjection of them by the *Aryas* required time and strength for its accomplishment.

The state of society among the *Aryas* themselves now requires our particular attention. In connexion with them such questions as the following occur —Do the symptoms of Caste, or of tendencies to Caste, appear in the *A'ryan* community as it is first brought to notice in the Vedas? Were *Brahmans*, *Kshatriyas*, *Varshyas*, *Shúdras*, and *Sankaras* then found to exist? Was a diverse creation,—from the head, arms, thighs and feet of the godhead respectively,—then ascribed to the first four of these classes? Had they a monopoly of their occupations and privileges, founded on creation, birth, or descent? Could there be no interchange of classes among them? Were their respective duties prescribed to them by alleged special divine regulations? Did legislative impediments with religious sanctions, exist as to their intercommunion and marriage? Did ceremonial defilement follow the accidental or deliberate touch of any classes of people with whom they came in contact? Were there any practices, or pretensions, of parties among them which had the tendency to originate Caste?

The following observations, which are merely an expansion of what we have said on this subject in a late

small publication, will assist us in answering these inquiries

(1) The position and authority of the Aryan priesthood as presented to our view in the Chhandas portions of the Védas have comparatively speaking, but a very limited advancement and development. The word *Brahman* does not appear in the Hymns as a fully established generic designation of a priest, or of a party belonging to an established priesthood. It thus originated. The word *bramma* (from the root *brih* (or *vrih*) to utter, to speak, to make a noise,) means prayer, and it is applied,—as in several instances now quoted in connexion with the Aryas and Dasyus,—to the ceremonial prayers of the Aryas, neglected or opposed by the Dasyus *. In consequence, the word *Brahman* or *Brahma* in the masculine, came to mean the utterer, or conductor of prayer † The Brahmins, it cannot be doubted, are represented in the Védas merely as a profession, and not as a caste. Not a word is said in these writings about their origin as diverse from that of other members of the human family. They ask no privileges on account of original dignity or status. They are in the Védas principally a class of priests, officiating at sacrifices and other religious services, along with other specified classes of priests. The following are instances of the ways in which they are there brought to notice. “The chanters chant thee, Shatakratu [a name of Indra], the reciters of the Richas

* Thus we have, above, the Bráhma (the repeater of the *brahma* or word), p. 94, the hater of the *brahma* (or word), p. 95, ‘mad against the *brahma*’ (against the usage of the word), p. 95, etc.

† See article by Dr R. Roth on *Brahma* and the Bráhmans in Z. D. M. G., vol. I. pp. 86–88, and the of that article published in the (Oct 1851), by Dr J. Muir

praise thee, who are worthy of praise, the BRAHMANAS raise thee aloft like a bamboo pole * “Thine Agni, is the office of the *Hotri*, of the *Potri*, of the *Ritvi* of the *Néshtri* thou art the *Agnidhra* of the devout thine is the function of the *Prashastri* thou art the *Adhvaryu* and the BRAHMA, and the householder in our dwelling † Here are eight kinds of priests mentioned of whom the Brahman or Bráhmāna is the last. Even in the highest sense of the Vedas the word *Brahman* is used merely in a simple official sense and applied to an active class in the community, as when the *Brahman* is mentioned along with the *Rajanya* or prince ‡ It was in times later than those of the oldest portions of the Vedas that the word Bráhmā or Brahmanā came to be used in the exclusive sense of god born priest. It is not difficult indeed as will be afterwards seen to trace the progress of the Brahman from his Vedic profession to his subsequent position as maintained by Caste. From his peculiar position at sacrifices, he was often then conductor—the *purohita* or foreman,—for this is the literal meaning of the word. This honour he shared only with others in the first instance many of whom, as Vishvamitra and his school, belonged to the royal race. Agni, the god of fire the devourer, or it-

* See Text in Müller's Rig Veda vol 1 p 127. Professor Wilson (Rig Veda, vol 1, p 24) reads Brahmanas. In the original here the word is Brahmanah the plural of Brahman.

† Wilson's Rig Veda, vol 11 p 209, with the change of Bráhma for its equivalent Brahman as in the text (Müller vol 11 p 416). According to some authorities, altogether sixteen kinds of priests shared in the offerings on great occasions. See note in Wilson, ut sup where the authorities are quoted and illustrated.

‡ Rig Veda, 7 27

ceiver of sacrifices was the *purohita* of the gods in the sky*, and it was meritorious for kings to have a *Brahma* or *Brahmana* as his correspondent on earth. The office of the *Purohita* and *Brahma* gradually became hereditary, and the *Brahma*, as attached to the houses of the great, became of growing consequence especially in connexion with the anointing of kings and then horse-sacrifices, on which they counted much for conquest and progeny. His study and learning gradually increased his influence, and he was constituted an adviser and counsellor. His supposed peculiar access to the gods gave him a peculiar sanctity. He became a legislator, and in this capacity he soon made himself a god upon-earth. Such an exaltation of a human mediator has often to a certain extent been witnessed in other countries besides India.

(2) The writers of the Vedas, who are denominated *Rishis* or seers or inditers and who were doubtless in a religious point of view the highest parties in the Aryan community † call for support and countenance on account of their occupation and doings without reference to any order in society enjoyed by them ‡. Though

* Rig Veda 1. 1. 1 et in mult. loc.

† The phrase “As the Rishi among the Vipras” (rendered in the genitive plural by मन्त्रविन् “the intelligent” by the commentator Madhavacharya) occurs in the Sama Veda. Author's MS. of Mr. Dhruva's commentary part 2nd fol. 38 Vipra is now a synonym of Brahman. It is rendered by मन्त्रविन् “intelligent” in the commentary on the Rig by Sayana.

‡ For the donors of (pious) gifts they sung “the suns shine in heaven” (Wilson's R. V. ii. 17) “the givers of pious donation attain immortality” the givers of (pious) gifts prolong their (worldly) existence. They blamed some chiefs for annoying them, without claiming any established status (b. ii. 6).

these occupations may have been in some cases hereditary, in consequence of the establishment of schools or classes for committing the Aryan Hymns to memory, they were not confined to one class of the Indian people. They were at least from both the kingly and the priestly classes of the population Vishvamitra, to whom many of the Hymns of the Vedas are ascribed,* and who in the Vishnu Purana,—one of the most important legendary and traditional treatises of the Hindus,—is represented as one of the seven original Rishis of the present system of things,† was, as is admitted by all kinds of Hindu authorities, originally a *Rajarshi*, or a rishi from the rajás, though said to be elevated to the *Brahmarshi*, or Brahman grade of rishis, for his talents, acquirements, and observances Jamadagni, who is mentioned also in the Veda as a Rishi,‡—and who, in the later Hindu legends, is

* E g Rig Veda Müller ii p 932, et. seq

† Vasishtha, Kashyapa, Atri, Jamadagni, Gautama Vishvamitra, and Bharadvaja are the seven Rishis, according to Wilson's Vishnu Purana p 264 Other lists of the great rishis, are given with variations in Manu and the Puranas, etc For the age of the Puranas,—which are all posterior to the revival of Bráhmanism after the destruction of Buddhism,—see Appendix to the Notes of Colonel Sykes on Ancient India

‡ “ Vishvámitra is a remarkable person in the traditions of the Hindu religion according to the historical and *Pauránik* authorities, he was originally a member of the *Kshatriya* or royal and military caste and himself for some time a monarch he was descended from *Kusha*, of the lunar race and was the ancestor of many royal and saintly personages, who, with himself were called after their common ancestor, *Kushikas* or *Kaushikas* by the force of his austerities [sic scribunt Brachmanes] he compelled Brahmá to admit him into

the father of the reputed Avatara Parashurama, is represented as the nephew of Vishvamitra. From both Vishvamitra and Jamadagni, numerous tribes of Bráhmans of mixed blood, according to the legends, claim descent. Many of the Védic hymns are by authors said to be either of the princely class, or to have been raised from it to the priestly class*.

the *Brahmanical* order into which he sought admission in order to be placed upon a level with Vasishtha, with whom he had quarrelled his descent, and the circumstances of his dispute with Vasishtha are told, with some variation in the *Ramáyana* (ch li—lxv Schlegel's edition) in the *Mahábhárata*, *Váyu*, *Vishnu* and *Bhágavata* and other Puranas the details of the *Rámáyana* are most ample the texts of the *Rig Veda* intimate a general conformity with those of the *Puranas* as to the family designation of *Vishvámitra*, and to occasional disagreements from *Vasishtha*, originating, apparently in their respective patronage of hostile princes according, however, to the heroic poems, the *Puranas* and various poems and plays, these two saints were on very amicable terms in their relations to the royal family of *Ayodhyá* or to king *Dasharatha* and his son *Ráma* Wilson's *Rig Veda* ii, pp 318-319 Neither the chronology nor the geography of the authorities last mentioned is of much consequence in reference to the Rishis, who are handed about by the traditionists ad libitum, both in reference to time and place

* Mr Colebrooke (As Trans vol viii p 393,) long ago, noticed the authorship of certain hymns of the *Rig Veda* as belonging to royal authors, such as Mandhatí, son of Yuvínáshva, Shriv, son of Ushinara Vasumanis, son of Rohidáshva and Prataridana, son of Divodasa Other hymns of the same *Veda* are attributed to several of the sons of Vishvamitra as Madhuchhanda, Rishabha, and Renu, to Ambarisha to Bharata, the father of Devashrava, to Medhántin to Nábhága, to Rahugana, to Vatsapriya the son of Bhálandana, to Parúruva, of the Lunar race of kings to Vena, to Sudása, to Grit samada the son of Shunrotra but who afterwards became the son of Sunaka to Ievápi and Shantanu and to other princely authors. Several of the hymns of the last Ashtak of the *Rig Veda* are by

(3) The Rishis and priests received in marriage the daughters of other classes of the community. The Brahmans of the present day are well aware of this fact, but in deference to their later Shástras, they maintain that such marriages were mere indulgences, and confined to the assumption of one wife of each of the higher classes in addition to those of Brahmanical rank. But what will they make of the following story, related in the Nítí Manjarí of Kakshivat, the author of several Suktas in the Ríg-Veda, whose mother Ushik,—it is to be noted—was the reputed daughter of king Anga's slave? “Kakshivat having finished his course of study, and taken leave of his preceptor, was journeying homeward, when night came on and he fell asleep by the road-side early in the morning Rájá Svanaya, the son of Bhavayavya, attended by his retinue, came to

Kavaśha Ailusha said to be the son of a *Dasa* as noticed by Dr Müller (History of Sanskrit Literature, p 58). A few of the hymns of the Ríg Veda are even ascribed to females, real or imaginary, as Shachí the daughter of Pulomana, Shraddha, the daughter of Káma Gorivítí the daughter of Sakti, and Vák the daughter of Abhrina.

On various *gotras* or families, of Bráhmans mixed with or derived from the regal blood see legendary notices in Wilson's Vishnu Purána pp 369, 405, 448, 457, 454 etc

Dr John Muir in his “Original Sanskrit Texts,” vol 1 pp 44 56, has given a series of “passages sufficient to prove that according to the traditions received by the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India, (traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even their strong hierarchical prepossessions,) Brahmans and Kshatriyas were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same stock. Some of the cases referred to by Dr Muir are the same as those of the parties mentioned in the first paragraph of this note. The historical inference ought not to be pressed beyond the bounds indicated by Dr M.

the spot and disturbed the Brahman's slumbers upon his starting up the Rāja accosted him with great cordiality, and being struck by his personal appearance, determined, if he was of suitable rank and birth to give him his daughters in marriage. After ascertaining his fitness, he took Kakshivat home with him and there married him to his ten daughters, presenting him at the same time with a hundred nishkas of gold, a hundred horses, a hundred bulls, one thousand and sixty cows, and eleven chariots, one for each of his wives and one for himself, each drawn by four horses. Kakshivat himself, in the Veda, thus celebrates the liberality of his father in law — ‘From which generous prince soliciting (my acceptance) I, Kakshivat, unhesitatingly accepted a hundred nishkas, a hundred vigorous steeds, and a hundred bulls, whereby he has spread his imperishable fame through heaven. Ten chariots drawn by bay steeds, and carrying my wives, stood near me given by Svanaya, and a thousand and sixty cows followed. Forty bay horses (harnessed) to the chariots, lead the procession in front of a thousand followers. The Pajras the kinsmen of Kakshivat, rub down the high spirited steeds, decorated with golden trappings * It does not appear that Kakshivat had any wives of his own class. The supply which he had from the chief was more than sufficient. Other instances of Rishis and priests marrying the daughters of kings are often alluded to †

* Wilson's Rig Vēda vol. II p. 14, 17 18

† As those of Chyavana with Sukanya the daughter of Sharyati, (Wilson's R. V. 1 189 etc.) and Jamadagni with Renuka the daughter of Renu.

(4) The term *Kshatriya*, applied by the Shastras, or Law Books, to the second or warrior class in the Hindu community, is used in the Védas only as a denominative of a party possessed of *kshatra* or power. In this sense it is applied to the gods, as to Indra and Varuna and Mitra and Varuna.* In the Védas, the word *Kshetrapati*, the "owner of a field," is the name of a person possessed of landed property, and the name *Kshatrapati*, "the possessor of power" seems to have been applicable to any party exercising authority of any kind or extent. *Kshatriya* is the equivalent of *Kshatrapati*. *Kshatra* corresponds, as noticed by Lassen, with the Zend *kshatra*, which also means imperium, agreeing with the Greek *κρατος* and etymologically referring to the attribute of bodily strength. Synonyms of *Kshatriya* were *Vishaspati* or *Vishampati*, a master of the people or village community, *Raj* the equivalent of the Latin *Rex*, a king, and *Rajanya*, a prince, the derivative of *Raj*. The kings and chiefs of the Aryas are often praised by the Rishis in the Védas, but not a word is there uttered about their emanation by birth from the arms of the Godhead. It is a great fact, as noticed by Professor Wilson and others, that "There are [in the Vedas] indications of *Rájás* hostile to

* Even Sayana (Müller's R. V. iii p. 498) views it, as applied to the last mentioned gods, as the equivalent of *dhana* wealth, and *bala*, power. In the R. V. iii 7 17, Trasadasya, a royal sage who identifies himself with the gods in the fanaticism of his devotion, says मम इत्ता राष्ट्र क्षत्रियस्य विश्वयोर्विश्वे अमृता यथा न 'I have a twofold sovereignty, that of all the *kshatriya* (power), and all the immortals are ours.' Prof. Wilson gives "race" as the supplied word, but this seemingly on the authority of Sayana.

the ritual who would not therefore have belonged to the recognized military order"* The *Rajanyas*, as we have just seen, were sometimes Rishis or seers Even in the times of the ritual Bráhmaṇas, to be afterwards noticed, they had the privilege of conducting sacrifices

(5) In the time of the Védas, *viśha* (related to *viśha*, a house or district †) generally meant people in general‡, and *Vaiśhya*, its adjective, was afterwards applied to a householder or to what belonged to an individual of the common people The Latin *vici* and the Greek *δῆμος* are the correspondents of *viśha* || *Viśha*, if applied, sometimes, to the pastoral, the agricultural, and the other industrial classes of the community, had reference only to their immediate occupations, without giving them any monopoly of these occupations In an address to the Ashvins in the Rig-Veda from which we have already quoted a text, we find the general interests of the community, of the worshipper, or of the institutor of the sacrifice, thus referred to—"Favour the prayer (*brahma*), favour the service, kill the Rakshasas, drive away the

* Preface to vol. II. of Rig Vēda, p. xv

† It has this meaning in Zand also

‡ In Rig Vēda, III. 19, Agni is spoken of as the preceptor of *viśham manuṣhīnam*, human beings In III. 8. 18, he is called *viśham viśpati*, the lord of men

|| *Viśha* was pointed out by Kuhn and Lassen as having this relationship It occurs in the names of many of our own towns, as Greenwich, Woolwich, etc. as indicated by Dr Müller As noticed by the antiquarian historians now mentioned, it has been pointed out by the etymologists that the word *viśha* is derived from the root *viś*, to dwell, and is related to the Latin *vici* and the Greek *δῆμος*

evil, favour the power (*khatra*) and favour the manly-strength, favour the cow (*dhenu*, the representative of property), and favour the people (or house, *visha*) *

* This passage, which occurs in the Rig-Véda, 6th asht. 3rd adh 16th varg is a very important one. The text, omitting repetitive clauses runs thus — ब्रह्म जिन्वतमुत जिन्वत धियो इत रक्षासि सेधतममीवा क्षत्र जिन्वतमुत जिन्वत नृन्वत धेनूर्जिन्वनमुत जिन्वत विशोह (M S Rig Véda, of B B Royal Asiatic Society) In the Pada the words are separated thus ब्रह्म | जिन्वत | उत | जिन्वत | धिय | इत | रक्षासि | सेधत | अमीवा | नून० धेनू | विश | the word जिन्वत being to be supplied after each of the last three words according to the system of notation used (Author's MS of Pada of R V) Sayana Acharya the commentator under the caste feeling of later times identifies *brahma* (prayer) with *Bráhmāna* (the man that-prays and *kshatra* (power) with *Kshatriya*, the party exercising power, and *dhenu* the cow and *visha*, the people with the *Vaihya* the party belonging to the people. This interpretation is not to be wondered at, but it is without early sanction. The *mantra* referred to is a favourite one with the Bráhmans, and, both as in the Rig Veda and as in an expanded form, it is much used in their more solemn and secret services and this in such a way as to show that originally it dealt with interests and not with castes. It occurs in this enlarged form at the commencement of the Taittiriya Brahmana of the Black Yajur Veda — ब्रह्म सन्धत्त तन्मे जिन्वत । क्षत्रं सन्धत्त तन्मे जिन्वत । इष्टं सन्धत्त तां मे जिन्वत । ऊङ्गं सन्धत्त तां मे जिन्वत । रयिं सन्धत्त तां मे जिन्वत । पुष्टिं सन्धत्त तां मे जिन्वत । प्रजां सन्धत्त तां मे जिन्वत । पशून् सन्धत्त तान्मे जिन्वत (Author's MS) This may be thus translated — "Maintain the prayer, make it prosperous to me maintain the power, make it prosperous to me, maintain the food make it prosperous to me maintain the milk, make-it-prosperous to me maintain the wealth, make it prosperous to me maintain the offspring, make it prosperous to me maintain the herd, make-it prosperous to me. Sayana, in his commentary on this passage identifies *brahma* with the Brahman caste, engaged for the institutor-of the sacrifice. *Khatra*, he makes the authority of the-head of a district. But the other terms used he

Interests here occupy the ground which in later times belonged to particular castes. The unity of the whole immigrant race continued marked by the patronymic name Arya, to which we have often referred. The Vaishyas, in the times of the Pándavas of the great War, according to the Mahabharata, had considerable influence in affairs of state, as exemplified in the cases of the wise Vidur and Yuyutsu. It was only by degrees, and after the Aryas had been settled in the great plains of India, that the Vaishyas got *special* charge of flocks and herds, and agriculture and merchandise assigned to them, as in the days of Manu, for the time was, when a cowkeeper (*gopa*, *gopala*, *gosvami**) was a chieftain in their community.

(6) The Shudras, though treated by Manu and Hindu legislation in general, as a component (though enslaved) part of the Indian community, not entitled to the second or sacramental birth, are not even once mentioned in the olden parts of the Vedas. They are first locally brought to notice in the Mahabharata, along with the *Abhíras*, dwelling on the banks of the Indus †. The *Abhíras*, are recognized as in that position by Ptolemy, who denominates the district in which they were found *Abiria*, ‡

does not venture to apply to any other alleged castes. In the third mantra of the Taittiriya Bráhmāna, the vital breath, sight, hearing, mind, speech, etc., are coupled with the supplicatory verbs, in the same way as *brahma*, and *kshatra*, evidently showing that matters pertaining to the institution of the sacrifice are referred to throughout.

* This last word is still used as the equivalent of Master. It is particularly applied to classes of religionists.

† Mahabharata Bhishma Parva, 305 (Cal. ed. ii p. 844.)

‡ Ptol. Geo. lib. vii. p. 102 edit. Bert.

The extension of the name Shudra to the enslaved and servile classes of the country conquered by the Aryas in contradistinction to the more independent and more cordially hated tribes such as the Chandalas, Ambasthas, etc, etc, must have occurred gradually. Some of the Shudras and some of the more independent tribes in the interior land I am inclined, with others, to think may have spoken a dialect not very dissimilar to that of the Aryas and may have been the descendants of a prior Aryan immigration *. There seems to have been some hesitation in the Aryan community about the actual religious position to be given to the Shudras. In the time of the liturgical Brahmanas of the Vedas to be afterwards noticed, they were sometimes admitted to take part in the Aryan sacrifices †. Not long afterwards, when the conquests of the Aryans were greatly

* Many of the names of the Dasyus and other enemies of the Aryas seem to have an Aryan meaning. There are many words current in the northern family of Indian languages which appear to be more cognate with the Sanskrit than immediately derived from it. This remark is not intended to oppose the belief, also confirmed by the state of the Indian languages, that most of the tribes which entered India before the Aryas must have been of Scythian or Turanian origin. Of the Scythian immigrations, two at least, of extensive character, are marked by the differences in the Scythian words of the northern and southern families of languages.

† Roth, in *Zeitschrift of the Germ. Or. Soc.* vol. 1. p. 83 and Weber's translation of the First Adhyāya of the Shatapatha Brāhmana also in that Journal. In this Brāhmana there occurs a remarkable passage respecting the call of the sacrificers, to this effect — 'If the sacrificer be a Brāhman, it is said, *Ehi* Come! if he is a Vaishya, then it is *Agahi*, Come hither! with a Rajabandhu [a transposition of the Vaishya and Rajanya having occurred] it is *Adraya*, Run hither! with a Shūdra it is *Adraya*, Run hither.

extended, and they formed a settled state of society among the affluents of the Yamuna and Ganges, they were degraded to the humiliating and painful position which they occupy in *Manu* * There is no mention of any *Sankara*, or Mixed, Castes in the Vedas

(7) In the time of the Chhandas of the Vedas the idea of the god Brahma, from whose head and arms and thighs and feet the four original castes of the Hindus are held to have been derived, was neither developed nor formed. *Brahma*, is a member of the Hindu Triad, and as the parent of the races of man, is no god whatever of the Vedas Brahma, in the neuter gender, in the Vedic language, as already mentioned, means prayer, and Brahma, in the masculine, means "he-of-prayer" *Agni*, the god of fire and sacrifice is the *Prahridá*, the god of prayer, and the *Vishvaspati*, *Brihaspati*, or *Brahmanaspati*, the lord of prayer, throughout the Rig-Veda.† Though he is called *Vishvaspati* *Vishámpati*, and *Manasaspati*, the lord of men, *Vaishranava* the sovereign of all beings, and *Játavedhas* and *Vedhas Shashvata*, the inspector of men and the constant inspector, as practically useful to man in his person and social life, and as the constant consumer of sacrifice and offerings, he is also spoken of as "the Son of Heaven and Earth," as well as their parent, and was both a derivative god and a Creator, when the early Suktas were composed.‡ A desire to have a separate god for prayer, besides the gods of material nature and energy the ancient deities of the Vedas, begins

* See above, pp. 46 50

† Dr Roth thinks that all the *patis* gods are the result of reflection and of later invention

‡ Rig-Veda, 3rd Asht 1st adh s 19

to be apparent in these writings as they advance, and for this god Agni in his function of Brahma was selected. The Brahmins ultimately recognized Brahma as a distinctive metaphysical god, and introduced him to public notice, but, however much they themselves contemplated him, they did not succeed in thoroughly establishing his worship among the Indian people. It is well known that there is only a single temple dedicated to his honour in the whole of India*. To account for his unpopularity, it is feigned in the later Shastras, that he is labouring under a curse from the god Shiva, who even went so far as to cut off one of his heads for his immorality†. *Brahma* (the divine thing *Brahma* or Soul) is an invention of the ideal Vedantic system of Pantheism long posterior to the Vedas and really designed to supersede them under the assumed name of the Aum or “End of the Vedas‡.

(8) The doctrine or incident, or system, of ceremonial defilement by touch or by eating or drinking—by which the existence of Caste is particularly marked in the present social and religious life of the Hindus—is not recognized in the Vedas in a single instance. It is impossible that it

* This is at the Pokhar (*Pushkara*) lake near Ajmér. Tod's *Rajasthan* vol. i p. 774. Even this temple, I found when visiting it to be under the care of devotees, and not that of the regular priesthood.

† Author's *First Exposure of Hinduism* p. 42. In the 3rd asht 8th adh and 10th varg of the Rig Veda Agni is spoken of as having चत्वारि शृंगा four horns. These Sáyana erroneously makes the four Vedas, the collection of which did not exist when the Suktas were composed and Mahidhara, the four officiating priests (the Hotri, Udgatri, Adharyu and Brahma) but M. Langlois with much probability makes them four sides of Agni's eastern fire pit in which the my h

should not in some form or other, have been alluded to in these productions, had it existed when they were formed

Caste in the sense in which it exists in the present day we are more and more persuaded was altogether unknown among the ancient Aīyas, though doubtless, like other consociated peoples, they had varieties of rank and order and occupation in their community. A *Panchakshiti*, and *panchajana* (pentad) are occasionally mentioned in the Vedas*. Sayana Acharya says these expressions refer to the four *varnas* (colours or castes) and the Nishadas treated as outcasts, or to the Gandharvas Pitris, Devas Asuras, and Rákshasas, as explained in the Nūukta. But Professor Lassen properly observes that neither of these explanations is admissible † *Kshiti*, as he remarks, is applied in the Vēda to men in general and *charshan*, its synonym is derived from *ish* to plow. The *Nishādas* (etymologically the 'settled Aborigines, but applied to races distinct from the Aryan) were then unknown. Even when they came into notice, they remained exterior to the Aryan state. *Jana* signifies a person, *panchajani*, in times later than the Vēda an assembly of five men, and *panchajanina*, a chief of five men. 'It is probable, Lassen adds, "that the oldest social communities consisted only of five families. That *Panchakshiti* and *panchajana* signify an aggregate of five men, is evident, but what the members of the aggregation were, it is now almost impossible to declare with certainty. Megasthenes speaks of various municipal and military Pentads as existing among the Indians in his day ‡ Many aggregations of five per-

* R. V. iv. 2. 5

† *umakunde*, vol. 1. p. 796

‡ Megasthenes in Cory's Ancient Fragments p. 220 et seq.

sous or puties are at present recognized by the Hindus *

In virtue of the remarks which we have now made, and proofs and illustrations which we have now brought forward, we hold that Caste in the ancient Vedic times was no systematic institution of the Aryas. The opinion of Dr. Max Müller the editor of the *Rig Veda* and the most competent judge in the case, is entirely in accordance with that which we have ventured to express. In a Review of Müller's Texts in the *London Times*, he has the following passage — 'Does Caste, as we find it in *Manu* and at the present day, form part of the religious teaching of the Vedas? We answer with a decided

No. There is no authority whatever in the *Veda* for the complicated system of castes, no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Brahmins, no authority for the degraded position of the Shúdras. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together, from eating and drinking together, no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes, no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. All that is found in the *Veda*, at least in the most ancient portion of it—the Hymns—is a verse, in which it is said that the four castes, the priest, the warrior, the husbandman and the self-sung, all alike from Brahmin. Europeans are able to show that even this verse is of later origin than the great mass of the Hymns †

* See Molesworth's *Marathi Dictionary* under the compound of ११. The *Arya varna* (of colour), is spoken of as a unity in *Rig Veda* 3rd asht 2 5 9.

† The *Times*, 10th April 1858.

The verse here referred to by Dr Muller was first brought to notice by Colebrooke. It occurs in the *Purusha Sul ta*, or Hymn of the Primeval Male, translated by him in his Essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus*. It has been quoted and translated by Burnouf in his introduction to his translation of the Bhagavata Purāṇa†, and lately it has been literally and correctly rendered by Dr John Muir, whose version we here introduce with the text subjoined, that a proper estimate of its bearings on the subject immediately before us may be formed.

"Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes a thousand feet. Everywhere pervading the earth he overpassed a space of ten fingers. 2 Purusha alone is this whole [universe], which has been, and is to be. He is the lord of immortality, that which expands by nutriment (?) 3 So great is his glory and Purusha is greater than this. All creatures make a fourth of him three fourths of him (are) immortality in the sky. 4 Purusha with these three parts mounted upwards a fourth of him was again produced here. He then diffused himself everywhere among things animate and inanimate. 5 From him sprang Virāj over Virāj was Purusha being born he extended himself, and (produced) the earth and corporeal forms. 6 When the gods offered up Purusha in sacrifice the spring was its clarified butter summer its wood and autumn the offering. 7 This victim Purusha, born primevally they immolated on the sacrificial grass with him as their oblation the gods Sadhyas, and Rishis sacrificed. 8 From that universal oblation were produced clouds and clarified butter. He produced the animals of which Vāyu is the deity, both wild and tame. 9 From that universal sacrifice were produced hymns called *rich* and *sāman*, the metres and *yajus*. 10 From that were produced horses and all animals with two rows of teeth cows, goats and sheep. 11 When they formed (or offered up) Purusha into how many parts did they divide him? What was his mouth?"

* Asiatic Researches, vol vii p 251 and Misc Essays 1 p 167 8

† Burnouf's B P 1 cxxiii

What were his arms? What were called his thighs and feet? 12 The *Brahman* was his mouth, the *Rajanya* was made his arms, that which was the *Vashya* was his thighs, the *Shudra* sprang from his feet. 13 The moon was produced from his mind (*Manas*) the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vayu from his breath. 14 From his navel came the atmosphere from his head the sky from his feet the earth from his ear the four quarters so they formed the worlds. 15 When the gods in performing their sacrifice bound Purusha as their victim there were seven trenches (round the altar) and there were made thence seven pieces of fuel. 16 With sacrifice the Gods worshipped the sacrifice, these were the first rites. These great beings attained to the heaven where the gods, the ancient *Sadhyas* reside *

सहस्रशीर्षः पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात् । स भूमिं विश्वतो वत्साध्यात्तद्वशांगुलः ॥ १ ॥
 ॥ १ ॥ पुरुष एवेद सर्वं यद् भूत यच्च भव । उतामतव स्पेशाने । यदङ्गेनातिरोहते ॥ २ ॥
 एतावान् अस्य महिमाऽतो व्यापीक्ष पुरुषः । पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामत दिवि ॥ ३ ॥
 ॥ ३ ॥ त्रिपाद ऊरु उदैत् पुरुषः पादोऽस्येहा भवत्पुनः ततोऽप्यश्वद्वयक्रामन् साशनान-
 शने अभि ॥ ४ ॥ तस्माद् विराज्जजायत विराजो आध पुरुषः । सजातो अत्यरिच्यत
 पश्चात्भूमिं मथो पुर ॥ ५ ॥ यत् पुरुषेण हविषा देवायज्जमतन्वत् । वसतो अस्यासीद्
 आह्वयः प्रीत्य इध्मः शरदः हविः ॥ ६ ॥ तयज्ञं दर्शयिषि प्रीक्षन् पुरुषः जात मग्नत । तेन देवा
 अयजत साध्या ऋषयश्च ये ॥ ७ ॥ तस्मात् यज्ञात् सवहुतः सभन्त पवदाह्वयः । पशू-
 स्ताक्षक्रे वायव्यान आरण्यान् ग्राम्याश्च ये ॥ ८ ॥ तस्मात् यज्ञात् सवहुन् ऋचः सामानि
 जज्ञिरे । छदोसि जज्ञिरे तस्मात् यज्ञस्तस्मादजायत ॥ ९ ॥ तस्मादश्वा अजायत येके
 चो भयादतः । गावोऽह जज्ञिरे तस्मात् तस्माज्जाता अजायन् ॥ १० ॥ य पुरुष व्यदधु
 कतिधा यकल्पयन् । मुखं किमस्य कौ बाहू काऊरू पाता उच्येते ॥ ११ ॥ ब्राह्मणोऽस्य
 मुखमासीत् बाहू राजन्यं कूर्त ऊरू तदस्य यद वैश्यं पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ॥ १२ ॥
 चन्द्रमाभनसो जातश्चक्षोः सूर्यो अजायत । मुखाद् इन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद् वायुरजायत ॥ १३ ॥
 नाभ्या मासीद् अतरिक्षं शीर्ष्णो द्यौः समवसत । पद्भ्या भूमिर्द्विजश्चोत्रात् तथालोकानक-
 ल्पयन् ॥ १४ ॥ सप्तास्यासनं परिधयः स्ति सप्तः समिधः कता । देवायद् यज्ञं
 तन्वाना अवध्नन् पुरुषं पशुः ॥ १५ ॥ यज्ञेन यज्ञं मजयन्त देवास्तानि भर्माणि प्रथमा-
 न्यासनः । तेहिनाक महिमानः सचत यत्र पूर्वं साध्या सतिदेवा ॥ १६ ॥

The text we take from the MS. of the B. B. R. A. S. which on comparison we find, except two letters, agrees with that of Burroughs which was made from the same original copy that of Colonel Shortred's.

Dr. Müller has lately well illustrated his own remark, that European critics are able to show that this passage of the Vedas is of "later origin than the great mass of the hymns. In his History of Sanskrit Literature he thus writes respecting it — "There can be little doubt that it is modern both in its character and in its diction. It is full of allusions to the sacrificial ceremonies, it uses technical philosophical terms, it mentions the three seasons in the order of Vasānta, spring Grīshma, summer, and Sharad, autumn, it contains the only passage in the Rig-Veda where the four castes are enumerated. The evidence of language for the modern date of this composition is equally strong. Grīshma for instance the name of the hot season, does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-Véda, and Vasānta also the name of spring does not belong to the earliest vocabulary of the Vedic poets. It occurs but once more in the Rig-Veda (mand. 161. 4.) Dr. Müller brings down this hymn to the time of making the final collection of the Rig-Veda Samhita 'the work of the Mantra period, to which he gives the date of 1000-800 before Christ. He does not carry it lower, because of allusions to it in the Brahmanas, and because it has found a place in the collections of the Vajaseyins and Atharvans*. That it cannot be carried higher than this is obvious not only from the considerations above referred to, but from the distinction (recognized by it) in the Vedic "hymns called the *Rich* and *Sāman*, the metres (*Chhandas*), and the *Yajus*, which seems to indicate the existence of an artificial division at the time it originated of the Vedic material at least for conventional sacrificial purposes.

* Müller's Hist Sans Lit p. 572

In regard to the meaning of the Puruṣha Sukta we adhere to the judgment which we have elsewhere expressed upon it. "The support which even it gives to the system of caste is of a very limited character. The passage in it which approximates the subject is the following — 'When they produced Puruṣa [perhaps equivalent to when Puruṣha was produced] into how many portions did they separate him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were pronounced his thighs and feet? The Brahman was his mouth, the Rājanya (prince) was made his arms, the Vṛshya was his thighs, and the Shūdra sprang from his feet. This occurs in a composition which is both metaphysical and figurative, and it probably expresses an idea originally of this character — The Brahman, as the expositor of the will of God, conceived of as an enormous male, and the recipient of the gifts and offerings made to the divinities, was the mouth of this male, the *Rajanya* the prince or warrior, the instrument of offence and defence, was the arms of this male, the *Vaishya*, as the cultivator of the soil, and the original possessor of its wealth, was the thighs of this male and the Shudra, or slave, as the lowest member of the body social was the feet of this male. All this is clearly metaphysical and metaphorical though afterwards it was viewed as historical and dogmatic. * For the system of caste, it is now obvious, there is no legitimate warrant in the great hymn collection of the Rig-Veda.

* India Three Thousand Years Ago, pp 44 45

Dr Muir illustrating the Purusha Sukta properly says "It is only the Shudra who is here said to have sprung from the feet of Purusha. In a hymn of this allegorical and mystical character, it cannot be assumed that the writer intended to represent it as a

Nor is such countenance of Caste to be found in any of the *olden* portions of the other Vedas, which are all taken from what is properly denominated by Dr Müller the 'one genuine collection, the so-called Rig-Veda, or the Veda of praise' *

The first of these derivative Vedas is the *Sāma*, the whole of whose texts, with few exceptions, as already hinted, have been actually found in the Rik, especially in the eighth and ninth mandals † It is not to be expected, consequently, that much light should be cast by it individually on the social state of the ancient Aryan, even though it should be admitted, as thought by Dr Müller, that the time of its construction falls within that of the Brāhmanas,—between 800—600 years before Christ. We notice a few things which have struck our attention when going over it in connexion with the subject before us.

The god Bṛ̥hma is distinguished in one place both from Agni, the god of fire, and Vṛ̥haspati, the lord of prayer ‡ A pre-eminence among the gods is in one other place it is a historical fact, that the four different classes sprang from different parts of Puruṣa's body—any more than that he desired to assert as literally true, what he has stated in verses 13 and 14, that 'the moon was produced from his *nose*, the sun from his *eye*, Indra and Agni from his *mouth* and Vayu from his *breath* &c &c &c. In fact the Yajur Vēda alleges that Vayu came forth from his *ear*, and so contradicts the Rig-Vēda. Texts 1. 10

* Review in Times, 10th April, 1858

† As the Sāma does not make quotations from the last hymns of the Rik, it has been inferred by Weber and others that its pieces had been arranged before the completion of the Rig Vēda collection—but Dr Müller (Anc Sans Lit. p 427) attributes both its collection and that of the Rig-Vēda to the Brāhmana period. See Muir's Texts, ii 203

‡ Benfey's Text of Sāma Vēda, p 10

scribed to him, no doubt because he is viewed as the lord of sacrifice* In the passage last referred to, the *Rishi* is mentioned as the marked one among the *Vipras*, or intelligent while in another the *Vipra* is denominated the instrument† or agent of the sacrifice,† thus intimating that the designation was being applied distinctively to an officiating priest Several passages in the Samā in which the word *Brahma* used as a human conductor of prayer or sacrifice are taken from the Rik need not be here noticed The human *Brahma* is spoken of in one place as the master of (holy) seasons, and the Brahmins as praising Indra in hymns† The designation *Brahma* seems from this to have been about this time coming into use as a generic

* This is in a curious address to the sacred *Soma*, the genius of ardent spirits —

सोम पवते जनिता मतोनो जनिता त्विषो जनिता पथिया ।
जनिताग्नेजनिता सूर्यस्य जनिर्देवस्य जानतो तद्विष्णो ॥
ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीं कवीनामृषीवप्राणां महिषो ममाणां ।
ह्येनो गध्राणां स्वधातवनानां सोम पवित्रमव्येति रेभन ॥

Sāmā Veda 2nd part iii 3 Stevenson's Text p 77 Benfey's 81

Soma is pure the generator of intellect, the generator of the heaven the generator of fire the generator of the sun the generator of India, and the generator of the earth, the generator of *Vishnu*—*Soma*, when sounding it goes to its holy place, (is) *Brahma* among the gods, the high one among the poets the *Rishi* among the *Vipras* the hawk among the raptors, the buffalo among horned animals and the sword among cleavers

† विप्रो यज्ञस्य साधन *Sāmā*, ii 6 (Benfey, p 126)

‡ एष ब्रह्मा य ऋतिय इदो नाम श्रतो गृणे ॥

ब्रह्माण इदं महयतो अर्केरवधयज्ञहये हनवा उ ॥

Sāmā Veda part 1st v 6 2 Stevenson's Text p 38 Benfey's p 46 Compāc Mādhyas Comment sub loc

term for a priest. Nothing of a peculiar character occurs in the Sama applying either to the *Rájá* or the *Visha*.

The second of the derivative Védas, the *Yajus* or *Yajur* as already mentioned, exists in two forms, the Black and the White*. They are partly in prose and partly in verse the poetical portion being generally that which is taken from the Rik. Exclusive of their texts from the Rik, they appear, in their liturgical directions especially very like the Brahmanas, to the era of which, as collections, they belong. They indicate the assumption of Brahmanical pre-eminence, but in the face of opposition from certain portions of the Indian community.

In the Black Yajur Vêda, the *Brahma*, and *Kshatra* are (with the *Supraja* (the good population), and *Rayasposha* supporting wealth), recognized as distinct interests, in prayers several times used†. The predominance of the Brahman in sacrifice is set forth throughout this collection, at least of the portions of it which have been printed. Social distinctions are recognized in it as those of the *Brahma*, the *Rájanya* prince, the *Mahishi* the wife of an anointed king, the *Parivikta*, according to the commentator Madhava "the unloved wife of a king" (concubine?), the *Sénani*, general, the *Sáta*, charioteer, the *Grámani* villager, the *Kshatta*, the 'guardian of the females', the *Sangrahita*, the treasurer, the *Bhágadugha*,

* See above p. 74. In the text of the White Yajur Veda, ably edited by Dr. Weber of Berlin, there are 4040 lines. Dr. W. gives us also the text of the commentary of Mahidhara, the Shatapatha Brahmana, and the Shrauta Sutras or Katyayana, and Extracts from the Commentaries of Kaika and Yajñikadeva.

† Taittiriya Sanhita of Y. V. 1. 3. 1. 1. 9. 6 (Roe and Cowell ed. vol. 1 pp. 445, 492.)

the collector (of the king's portion, said by the commentator to be the sixth part), the *Akshávaspa* the player at dice *. But these are probably principally designations of parties in public office. The commentator speaks of them as the recognized supporters of the kingdom †. An appropriation of the gods is thus made in recognition of certain orders of the community. 'Brihaspati is the god of speech. Indra, of chiefs, Mitra, of the truthful, Varuna of the religious, and "Soma of us the Brahmans. ‡ Brahmans and Kshatriyas are viewed as distinct, in connexion with the colour of the beasts used in a certain sacrifice §.

In the White Yajur Veda the information bearing on our subject is such as the following —

In this Veda the *Brahma* and *Kshatra* are coupled together in the worship of Agni, and in other connexions as in the Black Yajur Veda||. The Bráhman is mentioned as an object of reverence with ancestors andrishis,¶. Indra (the thunderer) is declared to be the hold and support of the *Kshatra*,** while he is also set forth as the god of the *Kshatra* and the principedom. Soma (so often addressed in sacrifice) is declared to be the god of the *Bráhmans*,†† as in a passage from the Sama Veda already referred to. The different functions in the community of the Brahman and Kshatra are thus indirectly recognized. Salutations are given to the *Kshatrapati*, proprietor of fields to the *Suta*, bard or chario-

* Taittiriya Sanhitá, 1 8 9 ¶ S Y V 1 6 46
 † Roer & Cowell's Ed. vol. II p 100 ** S. Y V 1 9 8
 ‡ Taitt S of Y V, 8 10 †† Shukla Yajur Veda 1 9 19
 § Taittiriya Sanhitá of Y V II 1 2
 || Shukla Yajur-Veda, 1 1 18 1 5 26

teer to the *Taskarapati*, probably master of a subjugated tribe,* to the *Kullunchapati* "inhabiting mountainous regions", to the bearers of bows and arrows, to the *Shvapati*, or master of hounds, to the *Vratapati*, "the master of a multitude," to the *Senā* and *Senām*, to the army and the leader of the army, to the *Sangrihita* treasurer, to the *Taksha*, carpenter, and *Rathakara* the coachmaker, to the *Kulāla*, the potter, and *Karmara*, the worker in the coarser metals, to the *Nishāda*, aboriginal settler,† and to other parties recognized as classes in the community ‡ The Brahman is spoken of as endowed with the knowledge of Brahma (*brahmavarchasi*) and the Rajanya, as possessed of bravery (*shura*) §

Even more distinctive notices than these of the varied and numerous classes of Indian society occur in this White Yajur Veda. They are found in connexion with the most mysterious rite of Hinduism, that of the *Purushamedha*, or sacrifice of Purusha, nominally the god Prajāpati. A whole Adhāya, or section is devoted to them,|| in which the parties are brought forward, or consecrated as typical representatives of the multitudinous objects recognized in the Purushamedha. A few of these parties are mentioned, also, in the Shatapatha Brahmana.

* In Wilson's Sans. Dict. Taskara is rendered by "thief robber." Mahidhara in his commentary on the Shukla Yajur Veda attaches a similar meaning to the word. Weber's ed. i. p. 497.

† Mahidhara views the Nishadas as mountain Bhillas, eaters of flesh. Weber's Text i. p. 500. The word Nishada, as shown by Lassen, means the settled.

‡ Shukla Yajur Veda, i. 16. 18. 26.

§ Shukla Yajur Veda, ii. 22. 20 (Weber's ed. p. 703).

|| Shukla Yajur Veda, adh. 30. (Weber's ed. i. p. 841. 848.)

of the Yajur Vēda,* and with variations they all occur in the Taittirīya Brahmana of the Black Yajur Vēda,† in a passage which, as far as I know, has not yet attracted the attention of Europeans

The importance of the Adhyāya of the White Yajur Vēda, now mentioned, in the illustration of ancient Indian society requires its quotation in full

1	<i>Brahma</i>	<i>Brahmayam</i>	for the Brahma	a Brahman
2	<i>Kshatr ya</i>	<i>Ryanyam</i>	for the Kshatra	a Prince
3	<i>Manudbh ja</i>	<i>Tashtya</i>	for Tillage	a Taster
4	<i>I pase</i>	<i>Shudram</i>	for Toil	a Slave
5	<i>Tamas</i>	<i>Tashnam</i>	for Darkness	a Thief
6	<i>A rak ya</i>	<i>Irhanam</i>	for Hellishness	a Murderer
7	<i>I apmans</i>	<i>Klibam</i>	for Sin	a Fool
8	<i>A kraye ya</i>	<i>Iyogam</i>	for Distress (?)	an Aye-java
9	<i>Ku m tyā</i>	<i>Pushchalam</i>	for Lust	a Thief
10	<i>Ati rushdyā</i>	<i>M gadham</i>	for great Mourning	a M gadha
11	<i>Vrit tyā</i>	<i>Sitam</i>	for Dancing	a Slave
12	<i>G t ya</i>	<i>Shail sham</i>	for Slugging	an Actor
13	<i>Dharm ya</i>	<i>Sab' charam</i>	for Duty (or Beh gior)	an Attendant-on the Synagogue
14	<i>Nari hthayā</i>	<i>Bh malam</i>	for Bad luck,	a Thief/ Thief-peon son
15	<i>Nam ja</i>	<i>R bhām</i>	for Amusement	an Orator
16	<i>Hasya</i>	<i>H sim</i>	for Laughter	an Artificer
17	<i>Anandaya</i>	<i>Str shakham</i>	for Joy	a Lover of women
18	<i>Pramada</i>	<i>Humariputram</i>	for Pleasure	a Son of an unwor- ried girl
19	<i>M dhya</i>	<i>Rathakaram</i>	for Intelligence,	a Chief of males
20	<i>Dhury ya</i>	<i>T kshanam</i>	for Firmness	a Carpenter
21	<i>Tapas §</i>	<i>K ulilam</i>	for Labour	a Potter
22	<i>Vay tyā</i>	<i>Haradram</i>	for Jugglery	a Blacksmith
23	<i>Rupdyā</i>	<i>Manikdam</i>	for Beauty	a Jeweller
24	<i>Shubh</i>	<i>I apam</i>	for Auspiciousness,	a Source
25	<i>Sharavyā</i>	<i>Ishukaram</i>	for Shooting	a Maker-of-arrows
26	<i>It ya</i>	<i>Dhanushkaram</i>	for Armour	a Maker of bows

* Adhyāya, xiii.

† Taittirīya Brahmana of the Krishna Yajur-Vēda, in fol 40 of Author's MS

‡ The numbers here given are not in the Vēda

§ We have had *Tapas* already (in No 4) The Taittirīya Brahmana has here *Shramā* meaning also "effort"

27	<i>Karmad</i>	<i>Jydhāram</i>	for Activity	a <i>Maker of bow strings</i>
28	<i>Nishitīya</i>	<i>Rajusarjam</i>	for Fortune	a <i>Replenisher</i>
29	<i>Mrit-jad</i>	<i>Wagayon</i>	for Death	a <i>Hu itman</i>
30	<i>Antakdya</i>	<i>Svaninam</i>	for the Agent of death	a <i>Dogman</i>
31	<i>Nad bhayah</i>	<i>Panyā hta</i>	for R vers	a <i>Punya hta</i>
32	<i>Rakshidbhya</i>	<i>Naishidam</i>	for a Watchman	a <i>Descendant of a Nishila</i>
33	<i>Purushavyd ghadya</i>	<i>Durmadam</i>	for Haughtiness	a <i>Druid</i>
34	<i>Gandharvopst robyo</i>	<i>Vrdtyam</i>	for the Gandharvas and Apsaras	a <i>Vratya</i>
35	<i>Prayugbhayah</i>	<i>Unmattam</i>	for the Abstracted	a <i>Madman</i>
36	<i>Sarpad vya bhya</i>	<i>Apratipadam</i>	for Serpents and Devajanas	an <i>Ignorant</i>
37	<i>Ayubhyah</i>	<i>Ktavam</i>	for Luck	a <i>Dice-player</i>
38	<i>Iryat ja</i>	<i>Akitavam</i>	for the Departed	a <i>Younger brother</i>
39	<i>Pushachedhyah</i>	<i>B dalakdrim</i>	for the Shachas	a <i>rule-Basket maker</i>
40	<i>Yatudhanebhayah</i>	<i>Kantakikdrim</i>	for the Y tudhāna	† a <i>Immaler</i>
41	<i>Sandhaye</i>	<i>Jdram</i>	for Junction	a <i>Paramour</i>
42	<i>Géhaya</i>	<i>Upapatim</i>	for the House	a <i>Concubine</i>
43	<i>Artyas</i>	<i>Farvittam</i>	for Affliction	an <i>Unmarried-elder brother</i>
44	<i>Nvritya</i>	<i>Parividdnam</i>	for Misfortune	a <i>Married elder brother</i>
45	<i>Nishkrityas</i>	<i>Pes ashdrim</i>	for Craft	an <i>actress</i>
46	<i>Samyannaya</i>	<i>Smaraalam</i>	for Gesture	an <i>Amorous-woman</i>
47	<i>Prakdmodydya</i>	<i>Upasadam</i>	for Love	a <i>Companion</i>
48	<i>Baldya</i>	<i>Upaddm</i>	for Strength	an <i>Observer</i>
49	<i>Var idya</i>	<i>Amerudham</i>	for Varpa (Descent)	a <i>Follower (or Page)</i>
50	<i>Utsadebhayah</i>	<i>Kubjam</i>	for the Applying of Unguents	a <i>Hunchback</i>
51	<i>Pramudē</i>	<i>Vdmanam</i>	for Amusement	a <i>Dwarf</i>
52	<i>Dwarbhayah</i>	<i>Srdman</i>	for Doors	a <i>Blind-eyed-person</i>
53	<i>Vagndya</i>	<i>Audham</i>	for Dreaming	a <i>Blind-person</i>
54	<i>Adl arindya</i>	<i>Badlam</i>	for Irreligion	a <i>Def person</i>
55	<i>Pavistīya</i>	<i>vin</i>	for Purification	a <i>Physician</i>
56	<i>Pragnandya</i>	<i>natradarsham</i>	for Philosophy	an <i>Astronomer</i>

* Mahidhara, the commentator makes this a *Slayer of-birds* and the *Lowest-born* the *Pulka*.

† The coupling of the Watchman with the loss of the Nishada suggests the idea that the word *Rakshasa* may have come into use from the aboriginal tribes having been employed a Watchman. See above p. 99.

‡ The name Yatudhāna is applied to magicians, barbarians and demon.

§ "the younger being unmarried" Mahidhara.

57	<i>Aśhukshaya</i>	<i>Prashnam,</i>	for Non instruction	a Catechiser
58	<i>Upashukshaya</i>	<i>Abhisprashnam,</i>	for Elementary- instruction,	an Interrogator
59	<i>Maryaddaya</i>	<i>Prashnavandham</i>	for Boundaries	a Revealer-of Omen
60	<i>Armedhyo</i>	<i>Hastipam</i>	for Conveyances	an Elephant keeper
61	<i>Jaadya</i>	<i>Ashvapam</i>	for Running	a Horse-keeper
62	<i>Pushtai</i>	<i>Gopdham,</i>	for Nourishment	a Cowkeeper
63	<i>Viryaya</i>	<i>Avipalam</i>	for Heroism	a Shepherd.
64	<i>Tyasa</i>	<i>Ayapdham</i>	for Bravery	a Goatherd.
65	<i>Idya</i>	<i>Kindsham</i>	for the Earth	a Cultivator
66	<i>Kildaya</i>	<i>Sardkram,</i>	for Water	a Dealer in-Spirits
67	<i>Bhadrya</i>	<i>Grihapam</i>	for Wellbeing	a Housekeeper
68	<i>Shregasi</i>	<i>Vittadham</i>	for Prosperity	a Holder-of Wealth
69	<i>A dhyakshaya</i>	<i>Anukshattidram</i>	for Oversight	a Footman
70	<i>Bhaya</i>	<i>Darvahanam</i>	for Combustion	a Timber-bringer
71	<i>Prabhaya</i>	<i>Agnidham</i>	for Light	a Fire-kindler
72	<i>Bradharya</i>	<i>Abhishektdram</i>	for the Region of the Sun	an Anointer
73	<i>Varshukshaya</i>	<i>Paridshidram,</i>	for Supreme Para disc	a Distributor-of food to-guests
74	<i>Devulokaya</i>	<i>Peshidram</i>	for the Abode-of the Gods,	a Maker-of figures
75	<i>Manushyalokaya</i>	<i>Prakaridram</i>	for the abode of Men	a Moulder
76	<i>Sarvabhayoloka</i>	<i>Upasaktidram</i>	for the Universe	a Sprinkler
77	<i>Avartiyabaddha</i>	<i>Upamanthidram</i>	for the Destruction of Adversity	a Churner
78	<i>Medhaya vasa</i>	<i>Paṭulim</i>	for Sacrifice	a Washer-of-clothes
79	<i>Prakamda</i>	<i>Rajayitrim</i>	for Eagerness	a Dyer-of-clothes
80	<i>Ritayā</i>	<i>Stenahridayam</i>	for Prosperity	a Throbbing hearted- person
81	<i>Vairhatyaya</i>	<i>Pishunam,</i>	for Malicious Mur- der	a Backbiter
82	<i>V viktya</i>	<i>Kshattidram</i>	for Loneliness	a Kahatta (Lioter)
83	<i>Upadastriya</i>	<i>Anukshattidram</i>	for Supervision,	a Sub-Lieut
84	<i>Baldya</i>	<i>Anucharam</i>	for Strength	a Follower
85	<i>Bhumā</i>	<i>I arishkandam</i>	for Water	a Climber
86	<i>Priyaya</i>	<i>Priyavadinam</i>	for Love	a Sweet-speaker
87	<i>Arishtya</i>	<i>Arsasddam,</i>	for Fortune (or Mis- fortune)	a Horseman
88	<i>Swargayalokaya</i>	<i>Bhgdadugham</i>	for Heaven	a Bhgdadugha.
89	<i>Manzavā</i>	<i>Ayastāpam</i>	for Anger	a Heater-of-iron (a Blacksmith?)
90	<i>Kroakaya</i>	<i>Nisaram</i>	for Anger	a Ferryman.
91	<i>Yogaya</i>	<i>Yoktdram</i>	for Junction	a Joiner
92	<i>Shokaya</i>	<i>Abhisartidram</i>	for Grief	a Wailer

93	<i>Kāmayā</i>	<i>Vimoktaram</i>	for Happiness	a Liberator
94	<i>Utkulanukule- bhyaḥ</i>	<i>Shishthnam</i>	for Arrival and Non arrival	a Man-of worth.
95	<i>Vapushe</i>	<i>Manuskānam</i>	for a Handsome Body	a Proved man
96	<i>Shildya</i>	<i>Anyanikānam</i>	for Beauty	an Ancestor-of the eyes
97	<i>Virritya</i>	<i>Koshakarim</i>	for Misfortune	a Maker-of sheath for sword
98	<i>Yamdya</i>	<i>Asun</i>	for Yama	a Barren woman
99	<i>Yamdya</i>	<i>Yama un</i>	for Yama	a Bearer-of Ties †
100	<i>Atharvabhya</i>	<i>Avatādam</i>	for a Priest	a Woman-without offspring
101	<i>Samvatsardya</i>	<i>Paryayin m</i>	for a complete-year	a Woman-skilled- counting
102	<i>Parivatsaraya</i>	<i>Atiyatam</i>	for the Past Year	a Woman-who has not borne a child
103	<i>Idvatsaraya</i>	<i>Aktvar m</i>	for the Present Year	an Unchaste-woman
104	<i>Idvatsardya</i>	<i>Atyākāśvarim</i>	for a Prosperous Year	a Woman-in-hor- courses
105	<i>Vatsaraya</i>	<i>Vijayardam</i>	for the Year (un- defined)	an Old woman
106	<i>Samvatsardya</i>	<i>Palikānam</i>	for Time	a White haired W man
107	<i>Riddhabyo</i>	<i>Ayinandham</i>	for the Ribbūs	a Skindresser
108	<i>Sādhyaḥ</i>	<i>Charmamnam</i>	for the Sādhis	a Dealer-in-skins
109	<i>Sarobhyo</i>	<i>Dhaisaram</i>	for Waters	a Man-of the fisher class
110	<i>Upasthācarā ḥ</i>	<i>Dasham</i>	for Mountains	a Dāśha (Dasyu)
111	<i>Vaishanta ḥ</i>	<i>Baṇḍam</i>	for Pools	One of the-Baṇḍa- class (a Hunter). ‡
112	<i>Nadvaidbhyaḥ</i>	<i>Shaukhakāṇ</i>	for Fens	a Fishdealer
113	<i>Pārdya</i>	<i>Margāram</i>	for the Opposite Bank of a River	a Deer killer
114	<i>Avārāya</i>	<i>Kavartam</i>	for the Near Bank of a River	a Kavartta (Fisher man)
115	<i>Tirāśabhyaḥ</i>	<i>Āndam</i>	for Ferries	a Andā

The god of the other world

† In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, we have Yamyaḥ the deity, feminine for Yama of the Shakl
Tajur Veda text. This reading which refers the personage represented to Yama the sister of
wife of Yama seems the more appropriate.

‡ The commentator couples the Bāṇḍas or Vāṇḍas with the Vāṇḍas possibly with reference to
the Vindhya mountains.

§ The word *śirika*, here used as a ferry seems to have got into use from the Brahmins
missionaries having chosen the ferries of rivers as their early stations.

139	<i>Papman</i>	<i>Sasagem,</i>	for Depravity	a Follower of his own Inclinations
40	<i>Pratishrutkaya</i>	<i>Arianam</i>	for Silent-listening	a Sufferer
141	<i>Ghoshaya</i>	<i>Bhasham</i>	for Noise	a Speaker
142	<i>Antaya</i>	<i>Bahuvddanam</i>	for the End of Life	a Much-speaker
143	<i>Anantaya</i>	<i>Mikam</i>	for Infinity	a Dumb person
144	<i>Shabdaya</i>	<i>Adambaraghadam</i>	for Sound	a Beater of drums
145	<i>Mahad</i>	<i>Vindoddam</i>	for a Festival (season of worship)	a Player on the V ad
146	<i>Kroshaya</i>	<i>Tupavadhnam</i>	for Weeping	a Blower-of the-Tuna
147	<i>Avaraspadya</i>	<i>Shankhadham</i>	for Procession	a Blower of the Conch
148	<i>Vandya</i>	<i>Vanapam</i>	for the Forest,	a Forester
149	<i>Angatostanydya</i>	<i>Davapam,</i>	for an Unpassable-Forest	a Burner
150	<i>Agnayé</i>	<i>Piednam</i>	for Fire	a Waterman
151	<i>Pruthiya</i>	<i>Pitkaszarpinam</i>	for the Earth,	a Lame-person (one who creeps or moves along on a seat)
152	<i>Vdyavé</i>	<i>Chanddlam</i>	for the Wind	a Chd dala.
153	<i>Antaraskhaya</i>	<i>Vandhanartanam,</i>	for the Firmament (Middle-of the Sky)	a Pole-dancer
154	<i>Davé</i>	<i>Khalatim</i>	for the Heaven	a Bald-headed man
155	<i>Suryaya</i>	<i>Ha yaksham,</i>	for the Sun	a Man with greenish eyes
156	<i>Nakshatrébhya</i>	<i>K ymeram</i>	for the Constellations,	a Man of variegated colour
157	<i>Chandramasé</i>	<i>Kildam</i>	for the Moon	a Man-with-scabs
58	<i>Anhé</i>	<i>Shuklam Pingdsham</i>	for the Day	a Reddish eyed person
159	<i>Ratraya</i>	<i>Krishnam Pingdsham</i>	for Night	a Dark red-eyed person.

Such is the thirtieth *adhyāya* of the Yajur Veda, in a complete form. Though found in the *Sanhita* of that Veda it clearly belongs to the period of the Brahmana—from 800-600 B C,—when the liturgical arrangements of the Aryas assumed their definite form. It throws much light on the state of Indian Society at the time to which it belongs. It mentions various distinctive classes in the community. Some of these are viewed in their moral aspect, as those of the thief, the murderer

the drunkard, the paramour, the adulteress, the licentious woman, the liberator the thievish-hearted one, the backbiter, the virtuous man, the slothful man and the man that-follows-his-own inclinations Some of them are noticed in connexion with natural deformities, deficiencies, infirmities, and diseases, as those of the madman, the blind-person, the hunchback, the dwarf the deaf-person the blear eyed person, the leper, the infirm person the sufferer, the baldheaded-man, the person-with-scabs the person-who creeps (who is lame?) Some of them are mentioned in connexion with their personal and family peculiarities, as the eunuch the son-of-an-unmarried girl, the married-elder brother, the barren woman the bearer of-twins, the woman-without offspring the woman-who-has not born-a child, the woman in her courses, the old woman the man with greenish-eyes the man with-variegated eyes, the man-with-reddish eyes and the man-with-red-eyes Some of them are introduced in connexion with their employments and social relations, as the actor the attendant-on-the-synagogue, the orator, the artist the chariotmaker the carpenter, the blacksmith the jeweller, the sower the maker-of-arrows the maker-of bows the maker-of-bowstrings the ropemaker, the huntsman the dogman, the player-at-dice the non-player-at-dice the female basketmaker, the woman-who-makes-pins (of thorns?), the companion, the follower, the observer the physician the astronomer the catechist, the interrogator, the elephant-keeper the horse keeper, the cowherd, the shepherd, the goatherd the cultivator, the spirit-dealer, the house-keeper, the holder-of-wealth (money-lender?), the runner-after a-chariot, the wood-

man, the fire-kindler, the anointer, the server of meals, the figure maker, the moulder, the sprinkler (with perfumes?), the washerwoman the dyer-of clothes the lictor (or doorkeeper), the sub-lictor, the body-attendant the tax-collector, the ferryman the joiner, the waiter, the applier of-unguents-to-the eyes the scabbard-maker the female knower-of-sequence (the soothsayer?), the skin-dresser the dealer-in-skins the fisherman the hunter, the fishdealer, the deer-killer the leaf-seller the (boat)-binder the goldsmith the vender or merchant, the (hired) mourner, the watchman, the public-crier, the foreslasher (in battle) the gambler the viewer-of-the-early-sun (in worship), the fabricator the arch-fabricator the attendant-on-cows, the cow-killer, the priest-of-the-Charakas, the speaker (of nonsense), the copious-speaker, the drum-beater the player on-the-Vīṇa (lute) the blower-of-the-tuna (bagpipes) the blower of the conch, the forester the forest-burner, the waterman, the pole-dancer Some are noticed who, it may be supposed, had a definite status of office or rank in the community, as the Brahman, the Rajanya the Vaishya, the Śhūdra, the Suta, the Vratya And some are mentioned as belonging to tribes receiving their denominations principally from the countries to which they belonged, as the Ayogava, the Magadha, the Taskara the Naishada, the Dasha (Dasyu) the Kaivarta, the Baṇḍa (of Vind) the Maināl, the Kīrāta, the Jambhaka, the Kimpuruṣa, the Paulkasa (or Pulkasa), and the Chandala. All this testifies to the multifariousness of rank and division of labour in the Indian community

Many of the classes of men here mentioned were ult

mately recognized as forming distinctive Castes, as will appear from their designations when compared with the list of castes which we have already inserted *. In the passage which, we have just quoted, however, there is no decided proof of anything like a complete establishment of the caste-system at the time to which it belongs. The *Bráhma*n, doubtless had his claims to superiority from his office of conversancy with the *Brahma*, now probably generally hereditary. The prince is the representative of the *Kshatra*, or power. Tillage is in the hands of the *Vaishya* who it is to be noticed, is distinct from the *Váni*, or merchant. The symbolical representative of toil is the *Shúdra*. The numerous parties engaged in distinctive occupations are certainly not mentioned in any order of rank or even of fixed profession. There is here no fabulous reference to any parties born of a conventional or adulterous mixture of Caste. If the Caste system did at this time exist to any extent, it was far from being matured. Most of the classes mentioned without such patronymics as we find in the case of the Magadhas and Chandalas we have reason to believe were Aryas or related to the Aryas. It is to be particularly observed that no exterior tribes are mentioned which have been recognized geographically as having their locations south of the Vindhya mountains. This range, up to the period of the composition of this *Adhyaya* had probably not been crossed by the Aryas.

The Purusha Sukta, which we have already quoted from the Rig Veda,† follows this *Adhyaya* in the White Yajur Veda. Little light is cast on its mysterious sym-

* See above pp 65-70

† See above, pp 118 119

bolism by the commentator Mahídharma. Without compunction, and without any attention to the literal meaning of his text, he derives the Bráhmaṇ from the mouth of Prajapati, the Kshatriya from his arms, and the Vaishya from his thighs. The Indian mind had undergone a great deterioration when it turned poetical figures into literal facts, when it turned the simple and natural though physiolatrous, poetry of the Vedas into legendry, and when it multiplied and magnified the legends to enormities and absurdities of the most grotesque and monstrous character.

This deterioration of the Indian mind is particularly apparent in the *Atharva*, or fourth *Veda*, to which, in connexion with the subject before us, we now turn our attention. As already mentioned the word *Atharva* corresponds with the Zand *Athrava*, etymologically a fire man*. It occurs in the Rig Veda as the name of a particular Rishi or sage, from the constituents of whose school, or course in after times it probably received its designation. It differs very considerably in its authority and character from the other Vedas, which, more than it are particularly associated with sacrifice. 'As there are three different branches of the ceremonial the Vedas, for the better performance of the sacrifices, divided into three the Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda and Sama Veda. The ceremonial of the Hotri priests is performed with the Rig-Veda, that of the Adhvaryu priests, with the Yajur-Veda, that of the Udgátri priests with the Sâma Veda. The duties of the Brahman priests, and of him for whom the sacrifice is offered, are also contained in these three Védas. The Atharva Veda is not used for solemn sacri-

* See above p. 91

fices, and is very different from the others, as it teaches only expiatory preservative, or imprecatory rites. This sensible opinion of Madhusudan Sarasvati, quoted by Dr Muller,* has been confirmed by the research of European and American orientalists. "The Atharvana," says Professor Whitney (with Dr R. Roth, the joint editor of its Text †) "is like the R̥g, a historical general, and not a liturgical collection. Its first eighteen books, of which alone it was originally composed are arranged upon a like system throughout the length of the hymns and not either their subject or their alleged authorship, being the guiding principle those of about the same number of verses are combined together into books and the books made up of the shorter hymns stand first in order. A sixth of the mass, however is not metrical, but consists of longer or shorter prose pieces, nearly akin in point of language and style to passages of the Brahmanas. Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one-sixth is also found among the hymns of the R̥g, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter the rest is peculiar to the Atharva. The greater portion of them are plainly shown both by their language and internal character to be of much later date than the general contents of the other historic Vēda (the R̥g Veda), and even than its tenth book, with which they stand nearly connected in import and origin.

The most prominent characteristic feature of the Atharvana is the multitude of incantations which it con-

History of Sanskrit Literature p. 122. For Madhusudan's complete view of the Orthodox Brahmanical Literature see Weber's *Indisch Studien* i. p. 120.

† In the work, as edited by them there are 10,296 lines

tains, these are pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefited or more often, by the sorcerer for him and are directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends most frequently, perhaps long life, or recovery from grievous sickness, is the object sought there a talisman, such as a necklace, is sometimes given or in very numerous cases some plant endowed with marvellous virtues is to be the immediate external means of cure, further the attainment of wealth or power is aimed at, the downfall of enemies, success in love or in play, the removal of petty pests, and so on, even down to the growth of hair on a bald pate * 'The origin of the Atharva Samhitā says Professor Weber

falls within the period when Brahmanism had become dominant. Many of the hymns which it contains are to be found also in the Rik-Samhitā † but there they are recent interpolations originating in the period when its compilation took place, while in the Atharva collection they are the just and proper expression of the present. The spirit of the two collections is entirely different. In the Rik there breathes a lively natural feeling, a warm love for nature, while in the Atharva, on the contrary, there predominates an anxious apprehension of evil spirits and their magical powers in the Rik we see the people in the exercise of perfect freedom and voluntary activity, while in the Atharva we observe them bound in the fetters of the hierarchy and superstition ‡ The very

* Journ. of the American Or Soc iv 254 5, 308

† [Less proportionally of the material of the Atharva Vēda is from the Rig Vēda than that of the Sama and Yajas.]

‡ Hist. of Ind Lit. quoted in Muir's Texts, ii p 202

name of the Atharva Vēda, derived from a particular class of priests shows that originally it had somewhat of a sectarian character. According to the original distribution of the sacrificial offices among the four classes of priests, the supervision of the whole sacrifice, and the remedying of any mistake that might have happened belonged to the Brahman. He had to know the three Vedas, to follow in his mind the whole sacrifice, and to advise the other priests on all doubtful points. If it was the office of the Brahman to remedy mistakes in the performance of the sacrifice and if for that purpose, the formulas of the Atharvangiras were considered of special efficacy, it follows that it was chiefly the Brahman who had to acquire a knowledge of these formulas. Now the office of the Brāhman was contested by the other classes of priests. The Bahvrīchas maintain that the office of Brahman should be held by a Bahvrīcha (Hotri), the Adhvaryas maintain that it belongs to one of their own body, and the Chhandogas also preferred similar claims. It was evidently the most important office, and in many instances though not always, it was held by the Purohita, the hereditary family priest. Certain families also claimed a peculiar fitness for the office of Brahman, such as the Vasīsthās and Vishvamītras. Because a knowledge of the songs of the Atharvangiras was most important to the Brahman or Purohita these songs themselves, when once admitted to the rank of a Veda were called the Vēda of the Brahman or the Brahma Vēda."

* Muller's History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 447-8

Dr M. adds, however, 'It is a common mistake in later writers to place the Atharva Veda co ordinate with the other Vedas

That the Atharva Veda should magnify the Indian priesthood, and especially the Brahman as distinguished from the Hotṛi, Adhvarīu etc., is but natural on the ground here stated. We now refer to the general information bearing on our inquiries which it contains.

Both the Brāhmans and the Kshatra are represented in it as engaged in extolling Agni * In behalf of a *Raja* the prayer is offered up that he may be the only lord of his country and that he may be praised by the *Visha* (here his subjects in general) throughout his realm † The *Kshatra*, *Rathakaru*, *Karmara* and the *Grihmani* and *Suta* established in the service ‡ of a *Raja* are mentioned as associated together § A *Purohita* (family priest) prays that the bravery and power of the *Kshatra* whom he represents may be undecaying || Of the *Brāhman* it is said, "The *Brahman* was the first born with ten heads (and) ten faces (that is, probably with extraordinary capacities), he was the first that drank the Soma, he made poison a (harmless) juice." ¶ The *Shudra* is recognized as distinct from the *Arya*, ** and also the *Dasa* from the *Arya*, as in the *Rig Veda* †† *Vishvamitra*, originally of the *royal* race, and *Jamadagni*, are associated with the *Brahman*; *Vasiṣṭha* in the protection of *Mitra* and *Varuna*. The supremacy of the *Brāhman* is thus set forth — The *Brahman* is lord, not the *Rajanya*, nor

* Atharva Veda i 6 2 4

† Atharva Veda iii 4 1 2

‡ *Rajakritah*

§ A V iii 5 1 7

|| A V iii 19 1 2

¶ A V iv 6 1

** तेनह सव पस्या म्यन शुद्धमनायम By it, (a particular medicine) I see every thing whether the *Shudra* or the *Arya* A V iv 20 8

†† A V iv 32 1

the *Varshya* * “Let not the *Rajanya*,” it is enjoined, desire to eat the inedible cow of a Bráhmaṇ, † a claim being thus put forth of a privilege for the Bráhmaṇ's pet, afterwards extended by degrees to the bovine race in general. The Bráhmaṇ's life, it is said, is not to be taken, and his body is to be loved like that of Agni ‡. A curious passage coaxing the departure of a certain disease called Takman (first brought to notice by Dr Roth) throws some light on the boundaries of the Indo-Aryan community and its distant neighbours. “His (Takman's) abode are the *Mújavats*, his abode the *Mahá-vrshas*. As soon as thou art born, O Takman, thou sojournest (?) among the *Bahlíkas*. Go, Takman, to the *Mujavats*, or far way to the *Bahlíkas*. Choose the female Shudra for food, and shake her. Passing by our friends (?), devour the *Mahavrishas* and the *Mújavats*. We point out to Takman these or those foreign regions. Takman along with thy brother Balasa, and with thy sister Kasiká (cough) and with thy nephew Páman depart to that foreign people. We transfer Takman as a servant and as a treasure, to the *Gandhárins*, the *Mujavats*, the *Angas* and the *Magadhas*’ || An extract is given from the hymn in the Ríg-Véda in which *Vasishtha* complains of being called a *Yátudhána*

* ब्राह्मण एव पतिर्न राजन्यो न वैश्य A V v 17 9

† मा ब्राह्मणस्य राजन्यं गो विषत्सो अनाशाम् A V v 18 1

‡ A V v 18 6

§ A V v 22 5 14 The translation of this passage is from Muir's Texts, II 364. Mantras like this are yet repeated for the banishment of disease from India.

by *Vishvamitra** The word *Brahmachari* seems to be used as synonymous with Bráhmaṇ, and is set forth as the first born of the Brahma or prayer, which he advances† The Purusha Sukta is given with a few variations from the form in which it appears in the Ríg-Veda The text of it which applies to caste reads thus —‘ The *Brahman* was his mouth, the *Rajanya* became (*abhavat*) his arms, the *Vaishya* was his middle (*madhyam*), the *Shúdrá* sprung from his feet’‡ Though, as we have already shown, little stress is to be laid on this passage, it is evident that the collection of the Atharva Veda was made when the caste system had made considerable progress

2 We now leave the Vedas and proceed to the *Brahmanas*

The *Brahmanas*, which are to be distinguished from the Mantras, or Vedic Texts derived from the Samhitas or collections of the Vedic Hymns are essentially considered Liturgical and Rubrical Directories for the ceremonies to be performed by the *Brahmans*, from their connexion with whom or as comprehending the Brahman technically understood they derive their name Their contents, however, are really of a varied character ‘The difficulty says Dr. Muller, of giving an exhaustive definition of what a Brahmana is, has been felt by the Brahmins themselves The name given to this class of literature does not teach us more than that these works belonged to the Brahmins They are Brahmanic or the theological tracts comprising

* A. V. viii. 4. 14. 16 Attention to this passage as found in the R. V., was first drawn by Dr. Muller in Bunsen's *Outlines of the Phil. of Un. Hist.* i. p. 344

† A. V. xi. 3. 4. 7

‡ A. V. 19. 1. 1

the knowledge most valued by the Brahmans, bearing partly on the traditions and customs of the people. They profess to teach the performance of the sacrifice, but for the greater part they are occupied with additional matter, with explanations and illustrations of things more or less distantly connected with their original faith and their ancient ceremonial. 'There was originally but one body of Brahmanas for each of the three Vedas, for the Rig-Veda the Brahmanas of the Bahvrichas, for the Sama Veda the Brahmanas of the Chhândogas, and for the Yajur-Veda in its two forms the Brahmanas of the Taittiriya, and the Shatapatha Brahmana. These works were not written in metre like the Sanhitás, and were therefore more exposed to alteration in the course of a long continued oral tradition. We possess the Bráhmāna of the Bahvrichas in the Shakhās [Memorial Stems or Schools] of the Aitaiéyins and the Kaushitákins.'*

"The Brahmanas Dr Muller continues, 'represent no doubt a most interesting phase in the history of the Indian mind, but judged by themselves as literary productions they are more disappointing. No one would have supposed that at so early a period, and in so primitive a state of society, there could have risen up a literature, which for pedantry and downright absurdity can hardly be matched anywhere. There is no lack of striking thoughts, of bold expressions of sound reasoning, and curious traditions in these collections. But these are only like the fragments of a torso, like precious gems set in brass and lead. The general character of these works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence by priestly

* History of Sanscrit Literature pp 342 346

conceit, and antiquarian pedantry It is most important to the historian that he should know how soon the fresh and healthy growth of a nation can be blighted by priestcraft and superstition It is most important that we should know that nations are liable to these epidemics in their youth as well as in their dotage These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots, and the raving of madmen They will disclose to a thoughtful eye the ruins of faded grandeur, the memories of noble aspirations But let us only try to translate these works into our own language, and we shall feel astonished that human language and human thought should ever have been used for such purposes" * These writings, however, are still deserving of special attention "Though their professed object is to teach the sacrifice, they allow a much larger space to dogmatical, exegetical mystical and philosophical speculations than to the ceremonial itself They appeal continually to older authorities † The Brahmanas exhibit the accumulated thought of a long succession of early theologians and philosophers But the very earliest of these sages follow a train of thought which gives clear evidence of a decaying religion ‡ "These books will always be to us the most valuable sources for tracing the beginnings of thought on divine things, and, at the same time sources from which we may draw the most varied information regarding the conceptions on which the entire system of worship as well as the social and hierarchical order of India are founded §

* History of Sanscrit Literature, pp 889 890

† Ib p 328

‡ Ib pp 429

§ Dr Roth's Introduction to the Nirukta, quoted in Muir's Texts p 193

At the time of the composition of the Brahmanas, which may be stated as extending from 800 to 600 B C, the collection of the three olden Védas was doubtless formed. The following passage from the *Ataréya Bráhma*, which is worthy of notice in several particulars, establishes this fact, as far as that work at least is concerned. "Prajapati desired that for the being of Praja (offspring) there should be done (what was required). He, setting a toiling performed *tapa* (toil). After performing *tapa*, he created these Worlds—the Earth, the Medial Expanse (*antarikhsha*), (and) Heaven (*Dña*). Having performed *tapa* for these worlds, he again performed *tapa*, and the three Lights were produced—Fire (Agni) from earth, Wind (Vayu) from the expanse, and the Sun (Aditya) from the heaven. Having performed *tapa* for these lights, he again performed *tapa*, and the three Védas were produced—the Rig Veda sprung from fire, the Yajur-Veda, from wind, and the Sama-Veda from the sun. Having performed *tapa* for these Vedas, he again performed *tapa* and the three *Shukras* were produced. *Bhu* was made from the Rig-Véda, *Bhuvá* from the Yajur-Veda, and *Sva* from the Sama Véda. Having performed *tapa* for these Shukras, he again performed *tapa* (and) the three *Varnas* were made—*akar*, *ukar*, *makar*. From the combination of these (OM, quasi *Aum*) was produced * The

* As this is one of the earliest accounts of Creation according to Hindu notions, we may give the Sanskrit of this passage—
प्रजापतिरकामयत् प्रजायेयभूयन्त्यामिति स तपोत्थयत् सत्पस्तानि माओकानसज्जत्
पथेमवरेक्ष दिवन्तान्छोकानम्यदपवेभ्योभित्तमेभ्यस्त्रीण व्योतींश्चजायतामिरेवपृथिव्या
दिवस्तानी

collections of the Védas are here distinctively mentioned, though a very different origin is attributed to these works from any mentioned by the Rishis themselves, the veritable composers of the Védic Hymns, who indite from their own mental impulse, or ask the assistance of the gods in their laudatory and supplicatory compositions. The triliteral, and afterwards mystical, syllable AUM, OM, seems here derived from the initial letters—*a* of *Agni*, *u* (the vocal representative of *v*) of *Váyu*, and *m* of *Mitra* (the mudday sun, the equivalent of Aditya). Of the *Shuklas*, with OM prefixed to the Gayatrí verse of the Rig-Véda (3 asht 10th vaig) *bhu* means earth, *bhuvá* sky, and *sua*, heaven. All this technical trifling (and it was afterwards greatly extended) betokens degeneration.

The Bráhmans, as a pre-eminent class are particularly brought to notice, in the *Astaréya Bráhmána*, the principal notices of which bearing on Caste we shall now introduce.

In the first chapter of the first Panchúka of this work the following passages occur in connexion with the *Dikhsá*, or sacrifice of the new birth, when a man is admitted for the first time to the use of sacrifice — ‘He who wishes for beauty and for wisdom (*brahma-archasá*), let him use

मित्रयेभ्य स्त्रीणां शुक्राभ्यजायत मूर्त्येव कवेदात् अजायत भुवइति यजुर्वेदात् सारिणि
सामवेदात् तानिशुक्राभ्यभ्यतपस्तेभ्योभितपेभ्य स्तयोवर्णा अजायत अकार उकारो मृका
रइती नानेकधा समभरत्तदेतरोमिती Ait. Brah. V 5 Author's MS
No 1 fol 61, No 2 fol 148 The first of these MSS. is a trophy
of peace from a converted Brahman the second a trophy of war,
with other Vedic works part of the plunder of the Bombay troops
at the late affairs of Bét and Diáráká presented to me by my friend
Dr John Grant Nicolson

the two Gáyatrí verses of the Svīhtakṛit. The Gayatrí is beauty, full of wisdom. He who knowing this uses the two Gayatrís becomes possessed of beauty and wisdom. Let him who desires strength, use the two Trīṣṭubhs. Trīṣṭubh is strength, which is vigour and power. He who knowing this uses (the) two Trīṣṭubhs, becomes strong, vigorous and powerful. Let him who desires cattle, use (the) two Jagatís, Cattle is Jagatí like. He who knowing this uses the two Jagatís becomes rich in cattle.”* In the fifth chapter of the same section, the *Brahman* is commanded to use the Gáyatrí for wisdom and glory, the *Rajanya*, the Trīṣṭubh, for splendour and bravery, and the *Vaiśhya* the Jagatí, for the obtainment of cattle. The characteristics of the three classes of the Aryas are here, for the first time, distinctively recognized †

In the second section of the Brahmana now referred to, ‡ a party denominated Kavasha Ailusha, is represented as expelled from the sacrifice as a *Dasyaputra*, and re-admitted only by the special favour of the gods, although certain hymns in the Rig-Véda are ascribed to him as their Rishi in the Anukramanika (or Index) of that Veda. The name *Kavasha* appears to me to be Iranian, and is similar to one found among the Pársís of the present day §

* This chapter of the Bráhmāna is translated by Dr Max Müller (from whom I borrow these sentences) with his usual life and elegance, in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature pp. 390 405

† Author's MS. No. 1 fol 9, of Panchiká : Several other similar passages occur in this Bráhmāna

‡ At Bráhmāna, ii 19

§ In Kavas (ji) The Zend name is *Kava uš*. This in Sanskrit (in the adjective form) as shown by Dr Roth (Zeit. D M G ii p 226 7) is *Kavya Uhash*

The probability is that when the Hymns of Kavasha were composed, no exception was taken against them because of his race, the caste-system having not been then fully developed, while in the age of the Bráhmāna, it was thought expedient to invent a legend, or fiction, to support that system

In the third Panchika, the Bráhmāna is spoken of as standing in the relationship of Brihaspati, the Purohita of the gods *

In the seventh Panchika, there is an important passage which is thus noticed by Dr Muller —“We find several instances where priests if once employed by a royal family, claim to be employed always. When Janamejaya Parikshita ventured to perform a sacrifice without the Kashyapas, he was forced by the Asitamūgas, a family of the Kashyapas to employ them again. When Vishvántara Saushadmana drove away the Shyaparnas from his sacrifice, he was prevailed upon by Rama Margavéya to call them back” † All this shows that the priestly office was of great importance in the ancient times of India.

In the seventh panchika and seventh chapter of this *Āitareya Bráhmāna*, there is a remarkable legend connect-

* *Āitareya Br* iii. 2 17

† *Āit Br* vii 5 27 “Margaveya, says Dr Muller, (*Hist of S. Lit.* p 487) “is a difficult name. It may be simply, as Śāyana says the son of his mother Mrigú but Mrigú may be a variety of Bhrigu, and thus confirm Lassen’s conjecture that this Rāma is Rāma, the son of Jamadagni, of the race of Bhrigu, commonly called Parashurāma. Cf. Weber *Ind Stud.* i. 216. In this espousment of the cause of these Purohitas we perhaps see the origin of the exaggerated legends of the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Parashurama.

ed with Harishchandra, the son of Vedhas of the Royal family of Ikshvaku, which, although of a very wild character, throws a good deal of light on the state of ancient Aryan society. It has been noticed of late years by several orientalists, and has long been effectively applied by myself in my intercourse with the Brahmans in illustration of the gradual growth of caste feeling in India. While referring to it, both as found in the original and as quoted and translated by Dr. Max Muller, we would note what connected with it appears to bear on this development of caste. Harishchandra, though he had a hundred wives, had no son. On the advantages of a son having been propounded to him in ten verses by Nārada (a sage often brought to notice in Indian dialogues)* he applied, as directed, to Varuna for one, promising if his wishes were realized to sacrifice him to that deity. A son was born to him called Rohita. With varying pretences assented to by Varuna, he got repeated postponements of the engagement till the son was ten days old till his first set of teeth came, till these teeth fell out, till he got new teeth, and till as a *Kṣatriya* he was girt with armour. When the father at length consented to fulfill his promise, the son took his bow, went to the forest, and lived there for a year, when, on his father having been afflicted with dropsy by Varuna he returned to the village. Indra, *in the form of a Brāhman*, having advised him again to wander about in the forest, he did this for a second, a third, a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth year on the repeated advice of this God.

* In stating the advantages of a son, a daughter is declared to be an object of pity—कृपण इ दुहितृ

following his annual visits to the village * When he was travelling in the sixth year, "He met in the forest a starving Rishi, Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa. He had three sons—Shunahpuccha, Shunahshepha and Shunolangula. Rohita said to him 'Rishi I give you a hundred cows, I ransom myself with one of those thy sons' The Father embraced the elder, and said, 'Not him' "Nor him," said the mother embracing the youngest And the parents bargained to give Shunahshepha the middle son Rohita gave a hundred, took him and went from the forest to the village. And he came to his father and said "Father, Death! I ransom myself by him The father went to Varuna, and said, "I shall sacrifice this man to you' Varuna said, "Yes, for a *Bráhma*n is better than a *Kshatriyá* And he told him to perform a *Rájasuya* sacrifice † Harishchandra took him to be the victim for the day, when the Soma is spent to the gods Vishvamitra [a *Kshatriya* who it is said by his knowledge and practice forced himself into the acknowledged profession of the *Bráhma*nhood‡] was his *Hotri*-priest, Jamadagni, his *Adhvaryu* priest, Vasishtha [a *Brahman* with whom Vishvamitra had oft contend-

* On the fifth occasion Indra uses this argument — A man who is asleep is like the *Kali* (age) a man who is awake is like the *Dvapara* a man who is arisen is the *Tretá*, a man who is travelling is like the *Krita* Travel! Travel!" Dr Müller correctly says, 'This is one of the earliest allusions to the four ages of the world Two others we have already noticed See above p 131

† A great monarchical sacrifice, at which in addition to the religious services, the chieftains assembled to express their fealty

‡ See before, p 104

ed], the *Brahmá*,* *Ayasya*, the *Udgatrí* priest. When Shunahshepha had been prepared, they found nobody to bind him to the sacrificial post. And Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa said, 'Give me another hundred and I shall bind him. They gave him another hundred, and he bound him. And Ajigarta, the son of Súyavasa, said 'Give me another hundred, and I shall kill him. They gave him another hundred, and he came whetting his sword. Then Shunahshepha thought 'They will readily kill me, as if I was not a man. Death! I shall pray to the gods. He addressed himself first to Prajapati, who referred him to Agni, who referred him to Savitri, who referred him to Varuna, who referred him to Agni, who referred him to the Vishve Deváh, who referred him to Indra, who referred him to the Ashvinau (two Ashvins,) who said to him, "Praise Ushas (the Dawn), and we set thee free. Thus he praised Ushas with three verses. 'While each verse was delivered his fetters were loosed, and Harischandra's belly grew smaller, and when the last verse was said his fetters were loosed, and Harischandra well again. With this result the priests were so well satisfied that they were content to act for the day under the direction of Shunahshepha. He invented the ceremony called the Anjahsava. 'Afterwards he carried out all the things belonging to the Avabrittha ceremony, employing two verses and made Harishchandra go to the Ashvamedhaya fire with another hymn." What followed requires particular attention. "When the sacrifice had thus

* Dr Muller renders this by the equivalent *Bráhma*, which word, unless when otherwise used in the Sanskrit authorities, it may be proper to reserve for the designation of the caste so called.

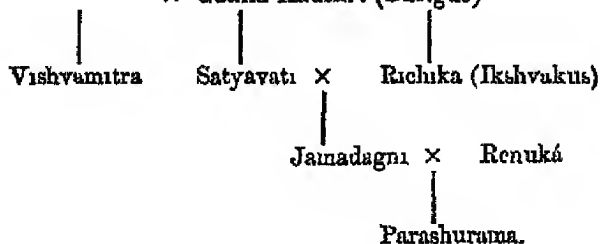
been performed Shunahshepha sat down on the lap of Vishvamitra [in furtherance of his adoption as his son]. Ajigarta, the son of Súyavasa said Rishi, give me back my son. Vishvamitra said, 'No, for the gods have given him to me. He became Devarata (Theodotus) the son of Vishvamitra, and the members of the families of Kapila and Babhru became his relations. Ajigarta the son of Súyavasa, said 'Come thou, O son, we, both and thy mother call thee away' Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa, said 'Thou art by birth an Angirasa, the son of Ajigarta, celebrated as a poet. O Rishi, go not away from the line of thy grandfather, come back to me. Shunahshepha replied, 'They have seen thee with a knife in thy hand, a thing that men have never found even amongst *Shúdras*, thou hast taken three hundred cows for me, O Angiras.' Ajigarta, the son of Suyavasa said 'My old son it grieves me for the wrong that I have done, I throw it away, may these hundred cows belong to thee. Shunahshépha replied 'Who once commits a sin will commit also another sin, thou wilt not abstain from the ways of Shudras what thou hast committed cannot be redressed. "Cannot be redressed," Vishvamitra repeated. "Dreadful stood the son of Súyavasa when he went to kill with his knife. Be not his son, come and be my son." Shunahshepha said 'Tell us thyself, *O son of a king, thus as thou art known to us, how I who am an A'ngirasa, shall become thy son.* Vishvamitra replied 'Thou shalt be the eldest of my sons, thy offspring shall be the first, thou shalt receive the heritage which the gods have given me, thus I address thee. Shunahshepha replied 'May the leader of the Bharatis say so in the presence of his

agreeing sons for friendship s and happiness s sake, that I shall become thy son ' Then Vishvamitra addressed his sons ' Hear me, Madhuchhandas, Rishabha, Rénu, Aṣṭaka, and all ye brothers that you are, believe in seniority Thus Vishvámitra had a hundred sons, fifty older than Madhuchhandas, and fifty younger The elder did not like this, and Vishvámitra pronounced a curse upon them, that they should become outcastes They became *Andhras*, *Pundras*, *Shabaras*, *Pulindas*, *Mutbas* and many other outcaste tribes so that the descendants of Vishvámitra became the worst of the *Dasjus* But Madhuchhandas, together with the other-fifty sons, said ' What our father tells us in that we abide, we place thee before us and follow thee When Vishvámitra heard this, he praised his sons and said ' You sons will have good children and cattle, because you have accepted my will and have made me rich in brave sons You, descendants of Gathin,* are to be honoured by all, you brave sons, led by Devarata, he will be to you good counsel You, descendants of Kusika follow Devarata, he is your hero he will give you my riches, and whatever knowledge I possess You are wise, all

* Purúravas

Jahnu

× Gathin Kausika (Bhrigus)



ye sons of Vishvamitra together, you are rich, you stood to uphold Devarāta, and to make him your eldest descendants of Gāthm Devarāta* (Shunahshepha) is mentioned as a Rishi of both families, in the chiefdom of the Jahnus and in the divine Veda of the Gathins " †

* This last verse which is also attributed to Vishvāmītra, ought to be taken rather as a recapitulation of the whole story Jahnū is one of the ancestors of Vishvamitra belonging to the lunar Dynasty, Gāthm is considered as Vishvamitra's father The commentator gives Jahnū as a Rishi of the family of Ajigarta, which seems better to agree with the Vedic story

† Muller's History of S L p 408 419

The legend or story of Shunahshepha as here given in the *Āitareya Brahmana* has been changed to a considerable extent in later Indian works as has been summarily noticed by Professor H H Wilson (*Rig Veda*, 1 pp 59 60) The story of *Shunahshephas* or as usually written, *Shunahshephas* has been for some time known to Sanskrit students through the version of it presented in *Īāmāyana*, b 1 ch 61 Schlegel 63 Gorresio He is there called the son of the Rishi Richika and is sold for a hundred cows by his father to *Ambarisha* king of *Ayodhyā* as a victim for a human sacrifice on the road he comes to the lake *Pushkara* where he sees *Vishva nītra*, and implores his succour and learns from him a prayer by the repetition of which at the stake *Indra* is induced to come and set him free It is obvious that this story has been derived from the *Veda* for *Vishvamitra* teaches him, according to Schlegel's text two *Guthas*, according to Gorresio's a *mantra* but the latter also states that he propitiated *Indra* by *Richas*, *mantras* of the *Rig Veda* (*Rigbhus tushtava devendram*) vol 1 p 249 *Manu* also alludes to the story (10 100) where it is said that *Ajigarta* incurred no guilt by giving up his son to be sacrificed as it was to preserve himself and family from perishing with hunger The *Bhāgavat* follows the *Āitareya* and *Manu* in terming *Shunahshephas* the son of *Ajigarta* and names the *Raja* also *Harischandra* In the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, he is called the son of *Vishvamitra* and is termed also *Devarāta*, or god given but this relates to subsequent occurrences noticed in like manner by the other authorities, in which he becomes the

The pre-eminence of the Bráhmaṇ to the Kshatriya is here set forth by the alleged greater acceptability to the gods as a sacrifice of a *Bráhmaṇ* than a *Kshatriya*, and by the adoption of the Bráhmaṇ (said to have been set apart for sacrifice) by Vishvámitra. A Bráhmaṇical disparagement of Vishvámitra and his consociates is also intended by the absurd allegation that the aboriginal tribes of the *Andhras*, *Pundras*, *Shabaras*, *Pulindas* and *Mutibas* were descended from them*. These tribes belonging principally to the South of India appear from the notice taken of them to have been known to the Aryas at the time of the composition of the *Aitaréya* Brahmana, while they were not as yet gained over to Brahmanism. The *Andhras* were the inhabitants of the province which was afterwards denominated Telingána,† the *Pundras* are supposed to have occupied the Western Provinces of Bengal,‡ the *Shabaras* are placed by Ptolemy near the (mouths of the) Ganges § and the *Pulindas* are located by Ptolemy along the banks of the Narmada to the frontiers of Larice, but in the Indian literature they occur in different positions from the Indus to the South ||

adopted son of *Vishvámitra*, and the eldest of all his sons such of whom as refused to acknowledge his seniority being cursed to become the founders of various barbarian and outcaste races. *Vishvámitra's* share in the legend may possibly intimate his opposition and that of some of his disciples, to human sacrifices

* Compare this with *Manu* pp 43-45 See above pp 59 60

† *Wilson's V P* p 190

‡ *Ib* p 190

§ *Ptol Geo vii* Ed Berth p 205

|| *Ptol Geo vii* Ed Berth p 203 See also *Mahabharata Bhishma Parva*, adh 6 Cūl Ld ii p 342 344

The relations of the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra to sacrifice (*yajna*) and to one another in a religious point of view, are mentioned with particularity towards the conclusion of the seventh panchika of the *Aitareya Brahmana*. "Prajapati," it is there said, "created sacrifice. After the sacrifice was created, the *Brahma* and the *Kshatriya* were created. To both the *Brahma* and the *Kshatriya* offsprings were created—(called) *hutād* and *ahutād**. That which was from the *Brahma* was called *hutād*, and that which was from the *Kshatriya* was called *ahutād*. The Brahman was the *hutād* offspring, and the *Rājanya*, the *Varshya*, and the *Shūdra* belonged to the *ahutād*. By them the sacrifice began to be conducted. The *Brahma* and *Kshatriya* came with their instruments. The Brahman came with the instruments of the *Brahma*, and the *Kshatriya* came with the sacrificial instruments of the *Kshatriya*. The instruments of the *Brahma* were the instruments of the sacrifice, and the instruments of the *Kshatriya* were the horse, a chariot, the coat of mail, the arrow and the bow. The *Kshatriya* was not permitted to enter, and seeing that he could not find entrance he returned. The Brahmins stood to oppose the entrance of others. The Brahmins came with their instruments. Therefore the sacrifice is established in the Brahmins. Afterwards the *Kshatriyas* came, and asked to be called for the sacrifice. Then the Brahmins said to them: 'If you wish to come to the sacrifice, you must put aside your own instruments, and become like Brahmins, (*brahmanorupēna*) and then

* *Hutād* (from *huta* and *ad*) means having the legal capacity of eating what is offered in sacrifice, and *ahutād*, not having this capacity.

come to the sacrifice. The Kshatriyas said, 'Be it so. After putting aside their own instruments and taking the instruments of the Brahman they became like Brahmans, and entered the sacrifice'."* The progress of the professions and pretensions of the professional priesthood, and their ultimate establishment of their peculiar privileges are evident from this passage. The Bráhmans, it teaches, were acting in their own peculiar character when they conducted sacrifice while the Kshatriyas when they sacrificed had to lay aside their own recognized character and its emblems and assume that of the Brahmans. The sacrifice is established in the Brahmans; and, with the enlargement and complication of its ritual, the Bráhman is more necessary than ever. Sacrifice is the highest interest (the first created object) of the community, and the Brahman the sacrificer is the head of the community. He has merely to throw difficulties in the way of the Kshatriya's sacrificing, to secure for himself all that his heart can desire. Let a Kshatriya, when he becomes a *yajamāna* (the institutor of a sacrifice) employ a Brahman. Let the Brahman give his blessing to the Kshatriya †

This is accompanied, in the Aitareya Brahmana, with notices of the manner in which the Brahman is to conduct the highest rites in behalf of a king at, and after, the ceremonies of his inauguration. But on this matter we may be content with some of the notices taken of it by

* Aitareya Brahman of R. V. vii 14 19

† यज्ञोत्रद्वयमेव ब्राह्मणेषु प्रतिष्ठितौ

‡ In illustration of these two last remarks, see Ait. Bráh vii 33 4

the learned and accurate Dr Goldstucker. In connection with the *Punarabhisheka*, the King is made to say, “ ‘ I firmly stand on heaven and earth I firmly stand on exhaled and inhaled air, I firmly stand on food and drink, on what is Brahman, on what is Kshatriya on these three worlds stand I firmly. He then descends, sits down on the ground with his face towards the East, utters thrice the words Adoration to what is Brahmana, and offers a gift to a Brahman, the object of this gift is the obtainment of victory in general of victory everywhere of victory over strong and weak enemies and of complete victory, and his threefold expression of adoration to what is a Brahman implies that a kingdom prospers, and has valiant men when it is under the controul of the Bráhmans, and that a valiant son will be born to him. “ A king for whom these (certain prescribed) libations are made to Indra in the indicated manner becomes free from disease, cannot be injured by enemies, is exempt from poverty, everywhere protected against danger and thus becomes victorious in all quarters and after death established in Indra’s heaven’ Priests who understand well how to perform the whole rite will raise the king to an exalted position, those on the contrary who are ignorant of the manner in which it is to be performed, will bring him into perdition. In connexion with the simple *abhisheka* Dr Goldstucker says, “The ceremony having been completed, the king has to make a present to the inaugurating priest, viz a thousand (Nishkas) of gold, a field and cattle, but this amount seems merely to constitute a minimum acknowledgment of the exertions of the

priest, for the text of the *Aitareya* adds that they say a king should give innumerable illimited presents, since a king is illimited (in wealth), and they will obtain illimited benefit to himself, and the author of the *Aitar Br* seems rather inclined to adopt the latter opinion, for amongst the instances he gives of royal inaugurations which have been performed in this fashion, he does not mention those at which the Bráhmans have received the 'limited gifts but tells e g that *Adamaya* the son of *Atri*, promised to his priests ten thousand elephants and ten thousand female slaves and gave each of the sons of that priest at the noon-oblation two thousand cows out of a thousand millions that *Anga* gave his priest eighty-thousand young white horses fit for carrying burdens on their back, etc, that *Bharata* distributed in *Mashnara* a hundred and seven thousand millions of black elephants with white tusks, and decked with gold etc etc * In all this legendry of the *Aitareya Bráhma*na of the *Rig-Véda*, the Brahman, it must be admitted, occupies a pretty high position

The position of the Brahman is not of an humbler character in the *Taittiríya Brahmana*, of the Black *Yajur Véda* to which we now turn

In this Brahmana, the three fundamental Aryan castes are mentioned in connexion with certain distinctive privileges. *Indra* is there represented as assuming the form of a *Bráhma*n to carry off an *istiha*, or sacrificial brick for the purpose of preventing two sacrificing *Rakshasas*, *Kala* and *Kanj* (afterwards called the heavenly

* See Goldstucker's Dictionary Sankrit and English, unde *Abhisheka*

hounds *Urna* and *Nabha*), from succeeding in their service and getting to heaven (*suvarga*) In connexion with the same legend or fable, it thus enjoined "The *Bráhma*n ought to commence his sacrifice in the *Vasanta Ritu* (or spring season) That season belongs to the Brahman Let him sacrifice in his own season, and he becomes a *Brahmavarchas*, endowed with the knowledge of Brahma, and that season is the chief Let the *Rajanya* sacrifice in the *Grishma* (hot season) *Grishma* is the season of the *Rajanya* Let him sacrifice in *Grishma*, and he will become an *Indrayaví* (one powerful like Indra) Let the *Vaishya* sacrifice in *Shara* (the autumn) *Shara* is the season of the *Vaishya*"* "Let the *Bráhma*n perform the fire sacrifice in the *Gayatrí* measure The *Gayatrí* measure is the Brahman's. Each has his own measure for the acquisition The *Trishtup* (measure) is that of the *Rajanya* the *Jagatí* is that of the *Vaisya*, † A *Bráhma*n householder returning home from a journey has to sacrifice in the nakshatra of Rohini ‡ The *Bráhma*n is spoken of as of the class of the gods and the *Shúdra* as of that of the *Asuras*, while quarrelling about a skin, § and the Brahman gets the victory by means of a particular mantra The *Vajapeya*|| sacrifice belongs

* *Taittiriya Brahmana*, 1 1-2 (author's MS) See also edition of in Bib. Ind p 4

† T B 1 1 9 Compare with this, p 147, above

‡ T B. 1 1 10

§ ब्राह्मणश्च शूद्रश्च चर्मकृतं व्याच्छिन्ते । दैव्यं वै ब्राह्मणं अस्य शूद्रः *Taittiriya Brahmana*, 1 2 6.

|| Fermentation of bread and water Wilson's S Dictionary

both to the *Bráhmaṇ* and the *Rājanya* * The *Bráhmaṇ*, endowed like the *Rishi*, has to stir up the sacrificial fire, “for the *Bráhmaṇ* is every divinity” † Higher elevation than this it is difficult to imagine.

Social distinctions are mentioned, as in a passage from the *Taittirīya Saṁhita* already noticed ‡

Some of the gods are viewed individually as the lords of particular interests and classes of men. *Agni* is the lord of food, *Soma* is the king of the king (*raja rajapati*), *Varuna* is the emperor of the emperor, *Mitra* is the *kshatrapati* of the *kshatra*, § *Indra* is the might of the mighty, *Bṛhaspati* is the *Brahmapati* of the *Brahma*, *Savitā* is the *Rashtrapati* of the *Rashtra*, *Puṣha* is the *Vitpati* of the *Viśha*, *Sarasvatī* is the *pushti patnī* (mistress) of the *pushti*, *Tvaṣṭā* is the former of the pairs of beasts ||

In a remarkable chapter of this *Taittirīya Bráhmaṇa* (iii. 80), the parties of the *Purusha Medha* are mentioned, (with variants) as in the thirtieth chapter of the *White Yajur Vēda* ¶

* T B 1 8 3

† ब्राह्मण अर्पेय इज्जेत । ब्राह्मणो वै सवादेवता । *Taitt. Brah.* 1 4 4
Various other things are to be done by the *Bráhmaṇ* in virtue of this divine status. See the context

‡ *Taitt. Brah.* 1 7 3 For the parties see above p 124.

§ *Mitra* and *Varuna* are thus addressed a little onwards —
मित्रोऽसि वरुणोऽसि समहं विश्वेदेवै । अन्नस्य नाभिरसि अन्नस्य योनिरसि—
“Thou art *Mitra* thou art *Varuna*, with the *Vishvé devas*, thou art the navel of the *Kshatra* thou art the vulva of the *Kshatra*. The *Brahma* is called the vulva of the *Kshatra* in T B iii fol 68

¶ *Taitt. Brah.* ii 5-7

¶ See before pp 127-132

In religious services, the Brahman has all the prominence he can desire. "If a goat be not found, then make the Homa at the right hand of the Brahman. He is the Vaishvánara (of men the universal) Agni, if the Homa be made upon the Bráhmaṇ's hand, it is as if made by Agni himself." * How different is the position of the Shudra! In the sacrifice of the Ashvamedha, "The Shudra has to watch the property, so to a bastard (who is like a Shudra) there is not the privilege of the abhisheka (or ritual sprinkling) † If the Brahman acknowledges the splendour of the prince his own splendour is superior. Wealth and rule do not remain with the Brahman, rule remains with the Kshatriya. The Brahman is of the form of the day, the Kshatriya is of the form of the night. Let the Brahman perform the religious services (*ashlāpurta*) of the Kshatriya. The Kshatriya should rule. His glory is in war and battle ‡ Consider these demands, and yield this homage and the Brahman has all that he can desire.

In the *Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa* of the White Yajur Veda of the Madhyandina Śākha, or Recension, the development of the Caste System is apparent, much as in the two Bráhmaṇas which we have just now noticed.

This work attributes the Collection of the White Yajur Veda to the priest and teacher *Yājñavalkya* whose alleged decision it holds to be authoritative § In a passage to which we have already referred the *Rákshasas*

* Taitt Br III. MS fol 5.

† Taitt Br III. MS fol 101.

‡ Taitt Br III. MS fol 105.

§ *Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa*, I. 1. 9 (Weber p. 2) et in al. loc.

are said to derive their designation from their being prohibitors of sacrifice * *Vishnu* (in the Rig-Veda, the god of the brilliant firmament, or space) is, probably on account of the ascent of the sacrificial flame, called ' the sacrifice, † from which circumstance, certainly, he afterwards received his pre-eminence among the gods, though *Savitā* (the Sun) is in the context called " the generator of the gods, ‡ and *Agni* is in the Védas the god of sacrifice Ceremonial impurity proceeding during the celebration of sacrificial rites, from (the touch of) a Carpenter (*Taksha*) or any other sacrificially impure person, is represented as removed by the sprinkling of the sacrificial water § Yet even at this time sacrifice seems, in some of its relations at least to have been available for the *Shudra*, as brought to notice in a passage which we have already quoted — ' If the sacrificer be a Brahman, it is said *Ehi*, Come ' If he is a *Vaishya*, then it is *Agahi*, Come hither ' With a *Rājanyajubindhu* [a transposition of the *Vaishya* and *Rājanya* having occurred], it is *Adrava* Run hither ' With a *Shudra* it is *Adhava*, Run hither ' || While the sacri-

* Ib 1 1 16

† यज्ञो वै विष्णु Shat Br 1 1 2 13

‡ सविता वै देवानां प्रसविता Ib 1 2 17

§ Shat. Br 1 1 3 12 This passage forms a key to the Caste institution of *sparsha* or defilement by contact What occurred at sacrifices, at which parties were held to be ceremonially pure or impure, was afterwards extended to what may occur in any circumstances in social life to the debasement of large classes of the community

|| Shat Br 1 1 4 11

ficial stake (*yúpa*) and rice-stirring instrument (*sphya*) are appropriate to the *Bráhmaṇ*, the chariot and arrow are appropriate to the *Rājanya* * The *Bráhmaṇ* stands forth as the arranger of sacrifice † The spring is said to be the season of sacrifice, for the *Brahman* the summer for the *Kshatra*, and the rainy season (*varsha*) for the *Vita*. ‡ Of the mystical words prefixed to the Gayatrí, the *Brahman* should pronounce the *bhuh*, the *Kshatra*, the *bhuvah*, and the *Visha*, the *svah* § Indra and Agni are gods of the *Kshatra*, and the Vishvedevas of the *Visha*. || Brihaspati is the god of the *Bráhmans* ¶ The power of the *Kshatra* is Varuna. ** That of the *Visha* is the Maruta (company) In the Dikshá or sacrifice of Initiation, the *Bráhmaṇ*, *Rājanya* and *Vaishya*, but not the *Shúdra*, may sacrifice †† The *Rājanya* and the *Vaishya* are after the Diksha pronounced to be sacramentally the same as the *Brahman*, sprung from sacrifice †† The *Brahman* is encouraged to desire the work of the forestander, the representative of every *Kshatriya* §§

I the Savakánda of this Shatapatha Brahmana, there is an important passage which, in connexion with the Aranyoragni Samarohya (the sacrificial kindling of fire by friction) brings to notice various classes of the community

* Shat Br I 2 4 2

† यज्ञस्य प्राविदार Shat. Br I 5 1 12

‡ Shat. Br II 1 3 5

§ Shat Br II 1 3 4

|| Shat Br II 4 3 6 ¶ Shat. Br II 5 2 36, et. in al loc

** Shat Br V 1 1 11, et. in al loc

†† Shat Br III 1 2 10

‡‡ Shat. Br III 2 1 10

§§ ब्राह्मण सर्वस्यैव क्षत्रियस्य पुरोधां कामयेत Sh Br IV 1. 4. 5

much as is done in a portion of the Black Yajur Veda to which we have already referred*. The parties specified in it are the *Senanī*, the general, whose representative god, in the offering of the prepared rice, is said to be Agni, the *Purohita*, or family priest, whose god is Brihaspati, the “Purohita of the gods”, the *Kshatra* whose god is Indra, the *Mahishi*, “the chief wife of an anointed king” according to Sayana Acharya, whose god is Aditya, the *Sūta* or Charioteer, whose god is Varuna, the *Gramani*, the equivalent of the *Visha*, whose god is the Maruta (wind), the *Kshatta*, or hector, whose god is Savita, “the generator of the gods”, the *Sangrahita*, whom we have already supposed to be the treasurer, but whom Savana makes a charioteer, whose deities are the two Ashvins, the *Bhagudugha* or collector, whose deity is Pusha, the nourishing sun, the *Aksharapa*, or superintendent of the dice, whose god is Rudra, and the *Palagala*, (who has not yet occurred) said by A’pastamba to be the chief ambassador, and the *Paruritti*, or wife without a son†. These parties are obviously principally those in public offices, though they include the primitive sacrificial castes

The sacrificial castes are, in the same section of the Brahmana, represented as performing their sprinklings with different trees. The *Brahman* takes the Palasha (*Butea frondosa*), the *Rayanja*, the Nyagrodha (*Ficus Indica*), and the *Varshya*, the Ashvattha (*Ficus religiosa*)‡. The

* See above, p. 124

† Shat Br v 2 4 12 et. seq. Weber, pp. 444 447, 487-8

‡ Shat Br v 3 2 11, et. seq. p. 455. Other class distinctions are mentioned in the context. See pp. 457, 460, 465, 503, 569, 723

multiplication of distinctions in every religious act and ceremony seems to have been early an aim of the Indians. In the same section also, it is said, "There are four Castes (Varnas), the *Brahman*, *Rájanya*, *Va shya*, and *Shudra*, not one of whom there is that vomits the Soma * The mention here of the *Shúdra* shows, as in a passage already quoted,† that, in a certain form at least the *Shudia*, though probably not a personal sacrificer, was a participant in the potable or edible material of sacrifice and its supposed spiritual fruits

In the eighth section of this *Brahmana*, a *Rajanya* who belonged to the province of Gandhara to the south of the Kabul affluent of the Indus, is thus brought to notice 'Further Svarjit son of Nagnajit said Now Nagnajit was a Gandhára This which he said, he spake as a mere *Rajanya* ‡ On this passage it is rightly remarked by Mr Muir that "although his (Svarjit's) view (respecting breath or life) was not regarded as authoritative still the very fact of its being quoted, and its author mentioned as a *Rajanya* proves his Arian origin ' §

In the thirteenth Kanda, in which the grand sacrifices and distribution of enormous *dakshiná* by several kings are alluded to, verses are quoted in which both "five classes of men" (*pancha manava*) and "seven classes of men" (*sapta manava*) are alluded to || These Pentads and Heptads naturally bring to notice what is said in the Veda of the *Panchakshtri* ¶ Weber thinks that the Pentad

* *Shat Br*

† See above, p v 5 4, 9

‡ *Shat Br* viii. 1 4 10

§ *Muir's Texts*, ii p 366

|| *Shat. Br* xiii. 3 6 14. and 23 Weber, p 995 6

¶ See above, pp 116-17

refers to the Panchálas, often mentioned (and supposed by Roth to be the five races of the Parvab) and the Heptad to the Kurus and Panchalas †

An important passage, in this Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa, corresponding with the Vrihad Aranyaka Upanishad will be noticed onwards. But before leaving this Brahmana we may turning back, refer to two notices, somewhat of a historical character, which it contains, and which are quite consistent with statements made in the commencement of this section of our work

In the first Kanda there is an account of a Deluge, similar in some respects to that brought to notice in holy writ, which seems to indicate that the Hindus had a tradition of having crossed a great mountain chain on their originally coming to India. This remarkable passage, which has been translated by Weber,* Muller,† and Muir,‡ is as follows —“ They brought to Manu in the morning water for washing as they are in the habit of bringing water to wash with the hands. As he was using the water, there came into his hands a fish which said to him, Preserve me and I will save thee [Manu inquired]

From what wilt thou save me? [The fish replied] ‘A flood shall sweep away all these creatures, I will rescue thee from it. [Manu asked] ‘How is thy protection [to be effected?]’ The fish answered, ‘So long as we are small we are in great peril, and even fish devour fish preserve

† See Note in Muir's Texts i pp 135-6, and Weber's Indische Studien i. 200

* Indische Studien i. 163 164

† History of A. S. Literature, p' 425, et seq

‡ Sanskrit Texts, ii p 325 7

me first in a jar When I grow too large for the jar dig a trench, and preserve me in it. When I become too great for that, carry me to the ocean, I shall then be beyond the reach of danger Straightway it became a great fish, for it grew exceedingly [The fish then said] 'In so many years the flood will come, make a ship therefore, and worship me, and when the flood rises embark on the ship, and I shall deliver thee Accordingly Manu preserved the fish, and brought it to the ocean, and in the same year which the fish had declared, he built a ship and worshipped [the fish] When the flood ascended he entered the ship, and the fish swam near him and he fastened the cable of the ship to the fish's horn By this means he passed over this northern mountain The fish then said, 'I have delivered thee, fasten the ship to a tree But lest the water should abandon thee when thou art upon the mountain as fast as the water subsides, so fast shalt thou descend along with it Accordingly he descended as the water subsided Hence, this was 'Manu's descent' from the northern mountain. The flood had swept away all creatures, Manu alone was left. Being desirous of offspring he laboriously performed a religious rite And there too, he sacrificed with the paka sacrifice He cast clarified butter, thickened milk, whey, and curds, as an oblation into the waters After a year a female was produced, who rose unctuous from the waters, with clarified butter under her feet Mitra and Varuna met her, and said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Manu's daughter,' she replied They rejoined, 'Say that thou art our daughter She answered, 'No, I am the daughter of him who begot me Then they demanded a share in her She promised, and she did not

promise, but passed on and came to Manu. Manu asked her 'Who art thou?' 'Thy daughter,' she replied. 'Now, thou divine one, art thou my daughter?' he inquired. She replied, 'Thou hast begotten me from these oblations which thou didst cast into the waters. I am a benediction. Introduce me at the sacrifice. If thou shalt do so, thou shalt increase in offspring and cattle. Whatever boon thou shalt supplicate through me, shall accrue to thee.' He accordingly introduced her in the middle of the sacrifice, for that is the middle which stands between the introductory and concluding prayers. He lived with her worshipping and toiling, desirous of offspring. By her he begot this offspring, which is the offspring of Manu.* This legend appears here in a much more simple form than it does in the Mahabharata, Matsya Purāna, or any of the other works of the later literature of the Hindus. Next to the references to the *Uttara* (northern) *Kurus*, it is the most important tradition known to the Indians respecting their acquaintance with the north. These *Kurus*, often referred to by the Brāhmins in conversation, are brought to notice both in a geographical and mythical form in the Indian literature. The oldest reference to them occurs in the following passage of the *Aitaréya Brahmana*. "Wherefore in this northern region, all the people who dwell beyond the Himavat, the *Uttara Kurus*, and the *Uttara Madras*, are consecrated to separate rule (*vairajya*)"† In another passage of the same work, they are spoken of as "the land of the gods (*deva-kshétram*)," of

* Muir's Texts, II. pp. 325-7

† *At. Brāh.* VIII. 14. This passage was brought to notice by Weber, *Ind. Stud.* I. 218.

which it is added, ' no mortal may conquer it '* Other allusions to them occur in the Rámáyana, | Mahabharata, etc Ptolemy, too speaks of a mountain and city called *Ottorokoria* † which must be referred to them The sanctity of this region in the eyes of the Hindus probably originated in the respect felt for it as an early seat of at least a branch of the Aryan people §

We find the following remarkable passage also near the commencement of this Bráhmaṇa (first brought to notice by Dr Weber) † referring to the advance of the Aryan and the spread of their religious rites from the river Sarasvatī in an easterly direction — ' Mathava the Videgha ¶ bore Agni Vaishvanara in his mouth. The Rishi Gotama Rahugana** was his priest (*purohita*) Though addressed by him he (Mathava) did not answer, 'lest (he said) Agni (Fire) should escape from my mouth The priest began to invoke Agni with verses of the Rik ' We kindle thee at the sacrifice O wise Agni the sacrificer the luminous the mighty, O Videgha (R V v 26 3) He made no answer (The priest then repeated) 'Thy bright, brilliant, flaming beams and rays mount upwards, O Agni O Videgha' (R V viii 44 16) Still he made no

* At Brah viii 23

† Rám iv 44 82 Mahabh i v 4719 22 Vishnu Purána p 168

‡ Ptol Geo vi 16

§ See on the Uttara Kurus Lassen's Ind Altherthumskunde, i 511 12, Zeitschrift für die K D M ii 62 and Muir's Texts, ii 332 37

|| Indische Studien, i 170

¶ "Afterwards prakritized to Vidéha "

** See R V i 78 5

reply (The priest then recited,) 'Thee, O dropper of butter, we invoke &c (R V v 26 2) So far he uttered, when immediately on the mention of butter (ghrita), Agni Vaishvanara flashed forth from his mouth he could not restrain him so he issued from his mouth and fell down to this earth The Videgha Mathava was then on (or in) the Sarasvatí (Agni) then traversed this earth, burning towards the east. Gotama Rāhugana and the Vidégha Mathava followed after him as he burned onward He burnt across all these rivers, but he did not burn across the Sadanira, which descends from the northern mountain (the Himalaya) The Bráhmans formerly did not use to cross this river, because it had not been burnt across by Agni Vaishvanara. But now many Bráhmans (live) to the east of it It used to be uninhabitable, and swampy, being untasted by Agni Vaishvanara It is now, however habitable, for Brahmans have caused it to be tasted by sacrifices In the end of summer this river is, as it were incensed, being still cold, not having been burnt across by Agni Vaishvanara The Videgha Mathava spake, 'Where shall I abide?' (Agni) replied, 'Thy abode (shall be) to the east of this (river) This stream is even now the boundary of the Kosalas and Vidéhas, for they are the descendants of Máthava'"* The river Sadanira here mentioned is not identified, but the spread of the Aryan faith eastward from the Sarasvatí, one of its early seats in India, is certainly made obvious by this somewhat figurative narrative †

* Shat Br 1 4 1 10, et. seq

† See on its precise import, Weber in loc cit. and Muir, ii 419 422

Notices somewhat similar to those now introduced from the *Āitareya*, *Taittirīya*, and *Shatapatha Brahmanas*, may possibly be found to some extent in the less important *Brāhmanas*. Dr Weber considers the *Shadvinsha Brahmana* as having a "distinctly formed Brahmanical character, indicating a not very early date." The following passage in it is referred to by Dr Weber and Mr Muir. "India declared the *uktha* (recited hymn) to Vishvāmitra [the Rājanya said to have attained to Brahmanhood], and the *Brahma* (sacificial knowledge) to Vasīṣṭha [originally a Brahman],—the *uktha*, which is speech, to Vishvamitra, and the *Brahma*, which is mental, to Vasīṣṭha. The object of this is evidently to qualify the effects of the acknowledged transition of Vishvamitra to the priesthood—an admission always felt to be awkward by the supporters of Caste, for it is added "Hence this *brahma* belongs to the Vasīṣṭhas. Moreover, let a descendant of Vasīṣṭha, who is acquainted with it, be appointed *Brahma*." The *Gopatha Brahmana* deals with the ritual of the Atharvas of the fourth Vēda, in which Brāhmanism, though in a sectarian form, is conspicuously dominant †. It even derives its ideal of the Creator from Atharvan ‡.

3 From the *Brahmanas*, we proceed to the *Āranyakas* (Discourses of the Forest) and *Upanishads*, (Discourses to

* See Weber's *Indische Studien* (i. 36-39) and Muir's *Texts* (i. 79) on the *Shadvinsha*.

† The MSS of this *Brahmana* are extremely rare. I have just heard of one having fallen into the hands of Dr Haug at Puna as this passes through the press.

‡ See *Hist. of A. Sans. Lit.* by Dr Max Müller, p. 451.

Near Sitters)* which are closely connected together. The oldest of these works, speaking generally, represent the speculative thought of India in the ages immediately posterior to those of the Bráhmaṇas, and in after times. Some of them, however, like the *Vrihad* (or *Brihad*) *A'ranyaka Upanishad*, which is mostly written in the name of Yajñavalkya, and finds a place at the end of the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa (also attributed to that famous teacher) may be of the same age as that work. Their philosophical character confers a peculiar value on their brief references to the social state of the ancient Indians although these references are often of a constrictive character, founded on the desire of their authors to uphold the doctrine of spiritual pantheism (that of the universality and identity of Brahma, viewed not as religious service but as its object and the

* The great commentator Śhankara Achárya views *Upanishad* as equivalent to *Annihilator*. In his introduction to the *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, he writes thus: "The dawn is the head of the sacrificial horse [the name of this Aranyaka derived from its first words] is composed for the sake of those who wish to liberate themselves from the world, in order that they may acquire the knowledge that Brahma [here used not in the Védic sense of religious service but the Spirit to whom this brahma is directed] and the soul are the same, a knowledge by which the liberation from the cause of the world (ignorance) is accomplished. The world is accomplished. This knowledge of Brahma is called *Upanishad*, because it completely annihilates the [essential reality of] the world together with its cause in such as possess this knowledge, for this is the meaning of the word *Sad*, (to destroy or to go) preceded by *Upam* (quasi *upa* near and *ni*, certainly). A work which treats of the same knowledge is called *Upanishad*.' Roer's Trans. of Br Ar Up p 1. Dr Max Müller, with more correct philological appreciation, shows that *up + sad* is used "in the sense of sitting and worshipping. Hist of A S Lit p 318

object of the contemplation of the wise), for the support of which they have evidently been composed *

From the Brihad (or Vrihad) Aitaryaka Upanishad we take the following notices —

“Brahma verily was this before, one alone Being one, he did not extend He with concentrated power created the Kshatra of elevated nature, viz, all those Kshatras who are protectors among the gods, Indra, Varuna, Soma Rudra Pujanya, Yama Death and Ishana Therefore none is greater than the Kshatra, therefore the Brahman under the Kshatriya, worships at the Rajasuya ceremony The Kshatra alone gives (him) his glory Brahma is thus the birth-place of the Kshatra Therefore although the king obtains the highest dignity he at last takes refuge in the Brahma as in his birth-place Whosoever despises him, he destroys his birth-place He is a very great sinner like a man who injures a superior He did not extend. He created the Viti He is all those gods who according to their classes, are called Vasus Rudras Adityas, Vishvédevas, and Maruts He did not extend He created the caste of the Shudras as the nourisher This (earth) is the nourisher, for it nourishes all this whatsoever He did not extend, he created with concentrated power justice of eminent nature. This justice is the preserver (Kshatra)

* Shankara Acharya says ‘ The knowledge of the identity of Brahma [in all forms] is the certain meaning of the Upanishads in all the Shakhas Rols Trans of B A U p 107 Seeking a Vedic support the Upanishads found much on a few expressions contained in some of the later Suktas, such as that attributed to the God Indra by Vamadeva in which he says, I was Manu I am the Sun See on this and similar expressions of the Veda Authors India Three Thousand Years Ago p 76

of the Kshatra There is nought higher than justice Even the weak is confident to defeat the more powerful by justice, as (a householder) by the king Verily justice is true Therefore they say of a person who speaks the truth, he speaks justice, or of a person who speaks justice, he speaks the truth In this manner verily it is both This is the creation of the Bramha, the Kshatra, the Vit, and the Shudra He was in the form of Agni (fire) among the Gods as Brahma he was the Bráhmān among men, in the form of Kshatriya Kshatriya, in the form of Vaishya Vaishya, in the form of Shudra Shudra Therefore among the gods the place (loka) is desired through Agni only, among men through the Brahman, because in these forms Bramha became (manifest) * The *Kshatra*, the *Brahma*, the *Vit*, and the *Shúdra* are here alike considered the positive creations of Brahma (now used in a new sense Care, however, is taken that by this view of matters, the *Brahman* shall not be disparaged, the *Kshatra* at last taking refuge in the *Brahma* as his birth-place The Shudra (a partial etymological reference being made to the first syllable of the name) is here viewed as the nourisher, but he is still the lowest in the scale “He (Brahma) was in the form of Agni among the gods as Brahma, he was the Brahman among men; in the form of Kshatriya, Kshatriya, in the form of Vaishya, Vaishya, in the form of Shudra, Shudra.’ This doctrine

* Thus is the accurate translation of Dr Roer (p 121 b) For “he did not extend it might an improvement to say “He did not separate or multiply, the original being स न व्यमर्षत The passage occurs in the Vrihad Ar Up 1 4 and in the Shatapatha Brah xiv 4 2 23 p 1052 in Weber's edition

Shankara Acharya does not fail to turn to account "Among men the place, the effect of works, is desired through the nature of the Bráhmaṇ alone, because Brahma, the creator, 'in their forms,' of the Bráhmaṇ and Agni, the forms upon which the agents of work are dependent, 'became manifest. '"*

"It verily goes against the grain that a Bráhmaṇ should approach a Kshatriya for the purpose of learning Brahma from him ' These words are doubtless put by a Brahman into the mouth of Ajátshatru, "king of Káshí," when he is represented as instructing "Gárgya, the proud son of Baláká. '†

"O Matréyí, said Yajnavalkya (to his wife), behold, I am desirous of raising myself from the order, therefore let me divide (my property) between thee and Katyayaní there."‡ Here Yajnavalkya desires to leave his *ashrama* of Householder for that of a Samnyási. The orders, afterwards spoken of by Manu,§ are here recognized. They are also brought to notice in the following passage, which teaches that the mendicant and meditative life is preferable to that of parties following the course of the world "Then asked him (Yajnavalkya) Kahola, the son of Kúshítaka,—Yajnavalkya, do explain to me that Brahma, who is a witness and present that soul which is within every (being)" "It is thy soul which is within every being" "It is the soul which conquers hunger thirst, grief, delusion, old age, (and) death. When Brahmans know this soul, then elevating themselves from the desire of obtaining a son,

* Roer's Trans. of Vrihad Aran Up p 125

† Ib p 172

‡ Ib p 177

§ See above, p 27-35

from the desire of wealth and from the desire of gaining the worlds (above), they lead the life of wandering mendicants, for the desire of a son is also the desire for wealth (to perform rites), the desire for wealth is also the desire for the worlds, for even both are desires. Therefore knowing wisdom let the Brahman (the student of Brahma) arm himself with strength.* It is afterwards added 'Whoever knowing this indestructible [being] departs from this world, O Gaṅgī, is a (true) Brahman'†

In the fourth Kāṇḍa of the work before us, it is said that Yājñavalkya was offered, at every illustrative story which he repeated "a thousand cows big as elephants," by Janaka king of Videha. His uniform reply was, "My father admonished me where one does not instruct, one should not take (gifts).‡ The Brahmans, in the time of the Law-Books, demanded gifts from Kṣhatryas and Vāshyas without service, and taught that the free bestowment on the priestly caste was meritorious § In the same Kāṇḍa, (and of Puruṣa, or Soul, in a certain state of abstraction), it is said, "The murderer of a Brāhman is no Brahman, the Chāṇḍāla is no Chāṇḍāla, the Pāṇkasa no Pāṇkasa, the religious mendicant (Sramana) no religious mendicant, the ascetic no ascetic, he is unconnected with all that is holy, he is unconnected with sin." This freedom from sin is afterwards attributed to the party possessed of

* Brihad Ār Up iii 5 Roer's Trans p 196 197

† Ib p 204

‡ Ib 213 et seq On another occasion Janaka is represented as saying to his teacher 'I bow to thee let this kingdom of the Vidéhas and this myself be thine' Ib p 219

§ See above, pp 17, 26, etc

the knowledge of Brahma.* The Paulkasa and Chandala have already occurred in the Purusha Médha† All offensiveness in them and all pre-eminence in others it is insinuated vanishes from the view of the knower of Brahma. The principle here involved as the teaching goes is of general application “The Brahma should disown a person, who considers the Brahma (caste) as something different from his (self), the Kshatra should disown a person, who considers the Kshatra (caste) as something from (his)self, the world should disown a person who considers the world as something different from (his)self ‡ That there was some novelty in this pantheistic and anti-vedic teaching was admitted “That this knowledge in former times was not possessed by a Bráhmaṇ (thou knowest thyself), but I will explain it to thee”§ It was, generally speaking, not reduced to practice in society, the Indian speculatists preferring unnatural accommodations to the ancient literature and ritual of the country to the setting themselves forth as distinct and marked reformers

In the *Chhândogya Upanishad*, associated with the Sâma Veda,—a portion of which agrees with the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad || and which may consequently be supposed to be somewhat connected with it in time,—we find a certain kind of scrupulosity as to food brought to notice “Ushashti, son of Chakia who had forsaken Kuru

* Ib pp 228, 241

† See above, pp 131 2

‡ Ib p 243-4

§ Ib p 263

|| Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, vi 2 seq.—(with the modification of some words) Chhand Up v 3 10 See Roer's Trans of Br Ar Up p 261

with his wife lived in great distress in Ibhyagrāma (the village of an elephant driver) Of the elephant-keeper eating some *Kulmasha* (a coarse bean) he begged (food) He (the elephant-keeper) said, 'I have nothing but what you see before me Give me of it, said he He gave him of it, and offered him some drink 'Were I (he said) to take that I should swallow the remnant of another's drink' 'Is not that also [the beans] a remnant?' 'I cannot live without eating that, but drink I can command at pleasure Having ate thereof, he presented the remainder to his wife She had before partaken of the same, and [therefore] took it and laid it by On the morning rising from his bed, he exclaimed, 'Alas if I could obtain a little food, I could earn some wealth A king is sacrificing in the neighbourhood he would surely employ me to perform all his functions His wife said to him, Here are the beans, (take them,) and eating of them go quickly to the sacrifice * Hunger is here made the excuse for eating the coarse provisions of a man of lower grade, while the drinking of his water, for which an excuse was not readily forthcoming is avoided The scrupulosity indicated seems to have had principally in view the preservation of status, which was really the aim of many subsequent caste regulations A microscopic view of gradations, and supposed degradations connected with them, was soon taken by the Indians In this same Upanishad, the birth of the Chandāla follows that of dogs and swine, though it resolves them all into Brahma himself †

* Chhānd. Up (Bib Ind) : 10, p 80, et seq and Rājendralāl's Trans pp 27 28

† Chhānd Up v 10 (p 306)

Little is to be found bearing on our subject in the older Minor Upanishads

In the *Taittiriya Upanishad*, which forms a portion of the Taittiriya Aranyaka of the Black Yajur-Véda (chapters 7-9,) and which is also found in the collection of the Upanishads of the Atharva Veda*,—the following passage, which forms a key to the limited respect paid by the followers of the Upanishads to the gods, forefathers, relatives, teachers, Bráhmans, etc, occurs —“Let there be no neglect of the duties towards the gods and the forefathers Let the mother be a god (to thee) Let the father be a god (to thee) All unblameable works ought to be performed—not any other All the praiseworthy doings of us (the teachers) ought to be respected by thee—not any others The Bráhmans who are better than we, it ought to be thy effort to provide with a seat ” “Then, ’ “as there (in thy neighbourhood) all the Brahmanas, who are of sober judgment,—who are meek and desirous of performing their duties,—whether they act by themselves or be appointed by another,—as such Bráhmans act among them, so also act thou among them.”† All this is by way of “accommodation ‘The Upanishads, as Dr Roer correctly says, “acknowledge the gods of the Vedas in name [and the same remark is applicable to the distinctions among men], but not in reality, for their whole nature is altered, since from the state of divinity they are degraded to being of an inferior order”‡ They are recognized only as

* See Translation of Taittiriya, etc by Dr Roth 1 1

† Tait Up Shikshá Vallí, An. xi Roer, pp 13 14

‡ Introduction to Taitt Up p 7

manifestations in finity of the infinite—the Supreme Self “The Vedanta (the more orthodox system of the Upanishads),” Dr Roer correctly adds, in another place, “also maintained that the acquisition of truth is independent of caste or any other distinction, and that the highest knowledge which is the chief end of man, cannot be imparted by the Vedas, yet it insisted that a knowledge of the Védas was necessary to prepare the mind for the highest knowledge.”* It was by this fictitious deference to the Vedas that the supporters of the Vedanta, while in reality superseding these works, conciliated their orthodox friends. The less orthodox schools, as the Sāṅkhya, acted a more independent part, if we except, perhaps, the founder of that school. Dr Max Muller thus writes —“Kapila, an atheistic philosopher of the purest water, was tolerated by the Bráhmans, because, however he differed from their theology, he was ready to sign the most important article of their faith—the divine origin and infallibility of scripture”† But their tenets, as bearing on our subject, we may afterwards notice in connexion with the relations of Buddhism to Caste.

In the *Prashna Upanishad* the Kshatra (as the power) and the Brahma (as the orderer of rites) are represented as founded on life, or Prajapati of whom, it is said, “Thou art a *Vratya*,” ‡ (as a non initiated Bráhman)—holy by nature, there having been none to perform the

* Introd to Svetáshavatara Up p 86

† Review of Muir's Text in *Times*, 10th April, 1858

‡ Prash Up ii 6 11 *Vratya* literally means one of the multitude

rites in thy behalf In this Upaniṣhad, the Vedānta doctrine scarcely appears in a definite form

4 We conclude this long section of our work by referring to the *Sūtras*, the last class of the Védic works so-called,—which form a connecting link between the Bráhmaṇas and the Law-Books comprehended under the name of *Smṛiti*, or Remembering

The *Sūtras* are written generally in the form of brief Memorial Aphorisms, as indicated by their name of *Sūtra* or Thread. Dr Max Müller makes them range between the years 600—200 before Christ They glean much from the Védas and the Brahmanas, but it is only in so far as they give a legal form to incidental notices which occur in the older works and make allusions to written laws and interpretations that they are of much use

“ They contain the quintessence,” Dr Müller says, “ of all the knowledge which the Brahmanas had accumulated during many centuries of study and meditation * They are based upon the *Śhruti* (comprehending the Vedic hymns and the Brahmanas)†, and, in some instances are on this account called the *Śhrāuta Sūtras* Those of them which teach the mode of performing the Védic

* Hist of A Sans Lat p 74

† Dr Müller (ib p 76) ingeniously says, “ The reason why the Brahmanas, which are evidently so much more modern than the Mantras, were allowed to participate in the name of *Śhruti*, could only have been because it was from these theological compositions, and not from the simple old poetry of the hymns that a supposed divine authority could be derived from the greater number of the ambitious claims of the Bráhmaṇas

sacrifices are called *Kalpa Sūtras*, and even the Brahmins themselves, such as Kumarila, admit that, though authoritative, they are ‘composed, by human authors, “like Mashaka, Baudhāyana Apastamba Aśvalayana, Katyāyana and others.”’* They are to be distinguished from the *Smṛti Sūtras*, the *Sutras of the Smṛiti*, or the Sutras of Tradition, which form the Law Books. Varieties of them are the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, which treat of rites to be performed by householders, principally for the benefit of their families, and the *Sāmnyādhārika Sūtras*, which regulate rites to be performed by individuals on their own account, and the religious services of everyday life †

The most important of the *Sūtras* to which the public has access are “The *Shrautasūtras* of Katyāyana, with Extracts from the Commentaries of Karka and Yajñikadeva,” published by the learned and indefatigable Dr Weber, as the third volume of the text of the White Yajur Vēda and its adjuncts

In the *Sutras* now referred to the *Shudra* is plainly declared not to have the right (*adhikara*) of sacrifice enjoyed by the *Brāhman*, *Kṣhatṛiya* and *Vaiśhya*. In support of this dictum, some quotations are made from the *Brāhmanas* which we have already introduced. It is then found that the *Shudra* is not to be invested with the sacred string, and has not, like the higher *Varnas*, the right of hearing, committing to memory, or reciting Vedic texts. For listening to these texts he ought to have his ears shut up with lead or lac, by way of punishment, for pronouncing them his tongue cut out and for committing

* Hist. of A. S. Lit. pp. 97-8

† See Muller, p. 200 etc

them to memory, his body cut in two * The *Rathakāra* is somewhat more favoured, as far as his presence at the *ādihāna*, or initial services of sacrifices, is concerned, † and this it is said is owing to the distinction of his employment for a livelihood, and because it is said, ‘ A *Mahashya* is produced by a *Kshatriya* on a female-*Vaishya*, a *Karani* is produced by a *Vaishya* on a female-*Shudra*, and a *Rathakara* is produced by a *Mahishya* on a female *Karani*. This brings us to the fictional views of the Law-Books ‡ Chiefs of the *Nishādas* have the privilege of offering the boiled seeds of the *Gāvédhuka* (coix barbata) on the occasion of hallowing a new house § Of the *Vaishya* and *Rājanya*, it is held that they are not entitled to keep burning the sacred fire *garhapati*, or that of a householder, which is the privilege of the *Brāhman* || In selecting *Brāhmans* for services, as connected with the nuptial fire, reference must be made to the families which represent the respective *Rishis* to which the *Védic* texts are said to have been communicated This the commentary couples with the recognitions of *śāl hantara* difference in the Branch or School of the ministrant ¶

* शूद्रस्य वैवाक्षर श्रवणे उच्चारणे धारणेच प्रायश्चित्तस्य दर्शनात् श्रवणे त्रपुनतुभ्या
श्रोत्रपूरणम उच्चारणे जि हाउदे धारणे च शरीरभेद इति Shrautasutra Kāt
1 1 6 (p 9)

† Ib 1 1 9 et seq

‡ See above, pp 53, 60, 65

§ Shrautasutras of Kāt 1 1 12 (p 16)

|| Ib 1 6 16, p 110

¶ Ib v 6 1, p 367 See also x 9 30 pp 832 3

In the *Baudhāyana Sūtras* of the Black Yajur Vēda,* we have found several passages worthy of notice

“The Brāhmans acting as Ritvijes,’ it is enjoined, “ought to be perfect in birth, associational lineage (*gotra*), instruction (*śikṣita*), and conduct, without fault of body, without scar, not addicted to going beyond the fences (of their town), not goes to the *Antyaja* (those of low birth, dwelling beyond the enclosures of towns), not pronouncers of *halēya-valēya* (that is, not of vulgarized speech), having sons and daughters only of regular birth, having no connection with strange women or women found with child at their marriage not (themselves) posterior in birth not adopted The Adhvaryu ought to be of the Angiras (order), the Brahmā of the Vasishtha, the Hota, of the Vishvamitra, and the Udgata, of the Kushika † It is also said by some that the Sadasya (superintending priest) should be of Vasishtha of Bhrigu or of Angiras, right in birth learning and conduct ‡

The institutor of a sacrifice is represented as connecting in supplicatory transference, robbery with the *Vātīya* and *Shūdra* labour, with the *Varshya*, knowledge, with the *Rajanyabandhu*, Brahmicide, with the *Nishada*,

* For the use of a MS of these Sūtras I am indebted to Sadashiva Bhatta of Wāt, next to Mahābaleshwar, the highest *tirtha* (sacred place of passage) of the Krishna river These Sūtras derive their name from Baudhāyana, their collector and arranger

† The classes of priests specified are those who take the different parts of the sacrificial rites See before p 102

‡ Baudhāyana Sūtras, Prashna II 2 (fol 19 of MS.) The passage goes on to say that the officiating priests should have no imperfection of body etc

paradise (*rodas*), with the Kimpurusha (dwellers in the N E mountains), barbarous speech (*mléchha*), with the residents in forests repose, with the *Videhas*, the takman (disease) with the *Mujavats*,* cough, with the *Dundubhas*, bile with the *Ikshvákus*, preparation for sacrifice, with Kalinga (a country contiguous to the sources of the Ganges), and so forth †

The Mantras to be used respectively by Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Rathakaras, at the *adhana* are expressly prescribed ‡ The Chandas, or Metres to be used by the three first of these classes are mentioned as in the Brahmanas § The Munja or sacred string of the loins|| of the Bráhman learning the Vedas, it is said, should be of the Darbha grass, and of the *Vaishya*, of the hair of the black antelope ¶

In the *Hiranyakéshi Sûtras*,—with the use of an old manuscript of which I have been kindly favoured by Tathya Shastri Abhyankara of Waí,—we have found several curious passages, also bearing on the progress of Caste arrangements

In one of them, after it is said that the Brahman, Rájanya, and Vaishya have the *Védádhya*na, or liberty of repeating the Vedas, it is added that their sacrifices are established in the Brahman, because all the sacrifices are not forbidden to him, that is, he has a right to

* See before, p 141

† Baudh Sûtras, II 2

‡ Baudh Sû. II 17

§ Ib VI 13

|| The Munja is to be distinguished from the string worn over the right shoulder The period for which the Munja is to be worn is mentioned onwards

¶ Ib

perform every *kind* of sacrifice, while the others have not this right. It is also added that the *Rajanya* and *Varshya* have the privilege of the (daily) Agnihotra and of the ceremonies of the new and full moon, while the *Bráhmans* alone have the privilege of the Soma sacrifice, and that the *N shada* and the *Rathakára* have the privilege of the *adhana* (initial ceremonies) of the Agnihotra of the new and full moon ceremonies *. In conformity with the dicta of the *Bráhmanas* the Vasanta season is the *adhan* time of the *Brahman*, the *Grihma* and *Hemanta*, of the *Rájanya*, the *Varsha* of the *Rathakára*, and the *Sharad*, of the *Varshya*, while the *Shishira* is common to them all †. Special mantras are prescribed, as in the *Baudhayana Sutas* for these four castes ‡. The horse for the *Ashvamedha* sacrifice as found suitable, may be brought from the house of a *Bráhman*, a *Rajanya*, or a *Varshya*, as the case may be §. The portion in sacrifice which falls to the institutor of the sacrifice (*Yajamana*) is to be ate by the *Bráhman*, but not by the *Rájanya* or the *Varshya* ||. Silence is to be observed by parties of the three sacrificial classes, when a *Shudra* enters to remove their natural defilements (alluded to with disgusting particularity), and thus the servile position of the *Shudra* is recognized ¶. The sun is addressed as the

* ब्राह्मण राजन्ययोर्वैश्यस्य च वेदाध्ययनं तज्जियत तेषामेव ब्राह्मणविहितयज्ञा येषु यज्ञा कात्स्न्यमविप्रतिषिद्धं तेषामग्निहोत्रं दर्शनं पूर्णमासौ च नियतौ सोमेज्या ब्राह्मणस्या धानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शनं पूर्णमासौ च नियतौ निषादरथकारयोराधानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शनं पूर्णमासौ च नियम्यते Huanyaké hí Sutas, iii 1

† Ib iii 2

‡ Ib iii 3

§ Ib iii 4

¶ Hir Sút vi 4.

¶ Hir Su x 1

Chārana (Brahman association), as the Shudra, and as the Arya (probably here meaning the Rājanya and the Vais̥hya) * A Shudra or Arya desiring the skin of an animal slain in sacrifice is to receive it from the Agnidhra Brahman, separating himself from the sacrificial party by a circle surrounding the sacrificial pit† In the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, the Nishāda, as well as the Vais̥hya and Rājanya, may three times drink, from an earthen vessel, of the juice of the roots of the Udambara (*Ficus glomerata*), while a Brahman has to drink of it only once‡

The sections from the nineteenth to the twenty-fifth inclusive are in the manuscript in our hands denominated the *Hiranyakēśhi Smṛti Sūtras*,—a denomination in which their traditional character is recognized, the *Shrauta Sūtras* being more directly founded on the Vēdic works comprehended under the name of *Shruti* ("what was heard") in ("regular Vēdic recitation") In their commencement, it is intimated that the *Upanayana* (or sacrificial endowment with the string) of a Brahman should take place in his seventh year, that of a Rājanya, in his eleventh, and that of a Vais̥hya, in his twelfth The seasons for this sacrament in the case of each of these classes, are mentioned as already noted by us on the authority of other works The ceremonial, in its different particulars is prescribed It ought to be performed during the first part of the lunar mansion (*nakshatra*) Puna A couple of Brah-

* Hir. Sū. x. 4.

† Hir. Sū. xvi. 1.

‡ Hir. Sū. xvii. 1. It is because the roots of this fig yield a watery juice that it is called the "water tree" by the natives of India and not as being found (as some of our botanists tell us) near springs or water courses.

mans are to be feasted , the *Punyâha* mantra is to be repeated , the youth is to be shaved (in the head) and decorated , the household fires have to be kindled in their respective positions , the *Darbha* grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) has to be scattered around them , and the articles required for use—the stone, the unwashed (new) clothing, the skin of a deer, etc , the *munja* (or temporary string) three times to circumvent the loins the rod of the *Belva* (*Ægle marmelos*), or of the *Palasha* (*Butea frondosa*) for the Brahman of the *Nagiodha* (*Ficus Indica*) for the *Rajanya* and the *Udumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*) for the *Vaishya*, the fuel of twenty-one kinds of wood, the frame of wood (to put on each side of the fire pits), the blowpipe, the *Darvî* (clarified butter spoon) the bunch of *Darbha* grass and the cup for the clarified-butter are to be put into their places The sacred fire is to be kindled (for the consumption,) in the *homa* rite, of the fuel and the clarified butter The sacred thread has to be put over the shoulder of the candidate for initiation , the *munja* has to be put round the loins , the mantras have to be repeated by the Brahmans, and taught to the party now initiated by them , and the youth has to be blessed in varied forms Clothing has to be given to him according to his caste —the skin of a black antelope to the Brahman , the *vanava* (skin of a common antelope) to the *Rajanya* , and the skin of a goat to the *Vaishya* Specified mantras varied according to caste, have to be repeated by the initiated *Dakshina* (douceurs with the right or lucky hand*) are

* On one occasion, when I happened to be walking round one of the *lingalayas* at Elephanta with my left hand towards the quondam object of worship, a Brâhman of the old school interested in my safety, attempted to put me into the *right* position that I might escape injury !

to be given to Brahmins * No symbolical meaning seems associated with the complicated service

In the *darśhoma* (burnt offering effected simply by casting butter, etc into the flame with a ladle), the Bráhmaṇ's prepared dish (*mantha*) is to be of clarified butter, the Kshatriya's of milk, the Vaishya's, of whey, and the Shúdra's, of water †

The twenty sixth and twenty seventh sections of the Sútias of Hiranyakeshi are called *Samayáchárika* or *Dharma Sutras*, that is Sutras for regulating conventional practices and duties, viewed as incumbent on individuals, independently of the great ceremonial services ‡

This division of the work sets out with the mention of the four primitive castes, which it says are recognized by the Vedas. The investiture with the shawl, the reciting of the Védas, and the keeping of the sacred fire are 'fruitless works for the Shudra, whose duty is service. Seasons of sacrifice are prescribed for the three first castes (but not for the fourth). The three first classes should, after initiation, spend at least twelve years as students (*Brahmacháris*), with their A'charya, or religious instruc-

* Hiranyakeshi Sút xix. 1 et seq

† Ib xxiii 10

‡ The commencement of the Hiranyakeshi Samayachárika Sútias is the following अथात सामयाचारिकान् धर्मान् व्यख्यास्यामी धर्मज्ञसमय प्रमाण वेदा —Now in what-follows we unfold the conventional practices and duties the authority (being) the intelligent in conventionalities (and) the Védas. 'Samayáchárika (says Haridatta, as quoted by Muller, Hist. of A. S. p 101) is derived from *samaya* (agreement) and *achára* (custom). Rules founded upon *samaya* are called *samayacháras* from which (is) the adjective *samayachárika*. In our Sútia, *Dharma* means law."

tor * The pronoun (of respect) is to be used when the wife of a Brahman is addressed, while those of a Rájanya and Vaishya may be mentioned with their bare names † The Bráhmacharí should not enter on the employment of the merchant, or shopkeeper. He should abstain from impure works, such as holding intercourse with Shudias, forming connections with non-Aryan women, eating forbidden flesh, drinking wine and fœces touching the vessel rendered impure by the leavings of a Shúdia or of an Aíya ‡ The Brahman who goes to a Kshatíya woman should give a thousand cows or bullocks for an atonement, to a Vaishya woman, a hundred, and to a Shudia woman, ten. The offending woman is to be banished to the wilderness § The Bráhmacharí is not to carry arms, but if any person come upon him with intent to kill him, he may use a sword (or any other weapon) at hand. ||

After marriage, when the Bráhman enters into the áshrama of a Householder, his first duty is performing the *stháhpaka*—the dressing rice for the homa, or domestic sacrifice, on the day previous to which he has to dine only once and to abstain from his couch, sleeping on the ground, and afterwards to conduct life in the most ceremonious manner. When he has erected an altar of clay and drawn upon it three lines from East to West and three from North to South, he has to sprinkle water upon it, and to throw away the remainder, partly to the North

* Hír S4 xxvi 1 (Prashna 1. of Sam Dh Sút)

† Ib xxvi 4

‡ Ib xxvi 6

§ क्षत्रिय गत्वा गवां सहस्र वैरयात्तनार्ये दद्यात् शव वैश्य दश शूद्र क्षपण
आत्राधिक Ib || Ib xxvi 7

and partly to the East. Other rites are to be performed by him according to the principle, that great happiness is to be obtained by each Varna following its own established rites,* while if the contrary is the case, misery will be the consequence, the *Brahman* being born a Chándála, the *Rājanya* a Paul'asa, and the *Vaishya* a Véna. It is added, that the occurrence of *dosha* (or fault) follows the contact, and conversation with, or look at, a Chándala. The atonement for a Brahman speaking with or touching such a low person is bathing, and for looking at him, the actual viewing of light (as of the sun). The Aryas (the three higher Varnas) have to make offerings to the Vishvédevas (all the gods), and the Shúdras have to do the same, day after day, making three sips. The hairs of the body (of three kinds) have to be shaved on the eighth and fifteenth days of the month, when water is to be touched. On the arrival of a learned Brahman, he ought to be seated and fed while a Rājanya and Vaishya arriving should only be saluted. If a Shudra come he should be fed and set to household work, (the claim for his service being put in force)† The Brahman, it is taught by tradition (*smartye*) may read the Vedas to Rajanyas and Vaishyas and even serve them when he is in circumstances of difficulty. In ordinary circumstances, he may occupy himself in all kinds of learning, as that of the Upanishads, and interpretation of calamities. Learning and reciting (the Vedas), sacrificing for himself and for others, receiving and giving gifts, are the (six) works of a *Brahman*. These, with the exception of

* सर्वं वर्णानां स्वधर्मानुष्ठाने परमपरिमितं सुखं

† HIR. ŚŪ (S. III) XXVII 1

reciting the Védas, sacrificing for others, and receiving gifts, are the works of a *Kshatriya*, who has also those of waging war and ruling. The works of the *Vaishya*, with the exception of waging war and ruling, are those of the *Kshatriya*, with agriculture, keeping of cattle, and engaging in merchandise added. It is enjoined that those who do not act according to the Institutes should be taken to the prince (*rajanya*), who should punish them according to the decision of learned Brahmins, avoiding killing and enslaving (*dāsya*) in the case of Brahmins, though not in the case of the other Castes *. Eight kinds of marriage are sanctioned, as in the Law Books. The benefits of entering the four ashramas of the *Bramacharī*, *Grihastha*, *Vanaprastha* and the *Parivraja*, and the conduct required in each of these orders, are mentioned much as in the Law Books. The *Parivraja*, in the most advanced ashrama, desiring liberation, should lose sight of the distinction between truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain, beloved and unbeloved objects, and occupy himself in the desire to have spiritual knowledge and well being. The *Vanaprastha*, going into the forests, should aim at the same objects. He should live on roots and fruits, and sleep on the grass. The party who does not desire to live habitually in this state may marry and discharge his household duties. He may still be esteemed a *Vanaprastha* if he live for a year gleaning in the fields, not using in this interval salt, honey, or flesh, or having more than two vessels, one for cooking and the other for eating †

The work notices certain matters on the authority of

* Ib xxvii 9

† Hir Sām Sū xxvii 15

Ancient Shlokas, or Shlokas of the Purānas,* such as that there have been 88,000 descendants of the Rishis

The duties of the prince are specified in the eighteenth section much as in the Law Books. He ought to have at least two counsellors, pure and truthful, and acquainted with the duties of all classes. He ought to be regular in the discharge of his own duties, bearing arms, and having dancing, singing, and music in his own house. He should allow no fear of thieves to be in his country, town, or forest. By giving power (*kshatra*) and wealth to Brahmans, he will be rewarded in the other world. He should not take the property of Brahmans. The giving to them of large dakshina is equivalent to sacrifice. He ought to appoint brave and good men for the protection of his

* The seventeenth *patala* of the twenty seventh Prashna, commences with these words — अथ पुराण श्लोका उदाहरति For पुराण, पुराणे occurs in the index at the end. The Bhavishya Purana is referred to as an authority in the same *patala* — भविष्यपुराणे यापि प्रजापतेर्वचन—In the Bhavishya Purāna, there is a saying of Prajapati, etc. Either this portion of the Sūtras must be held to be an interpolation, or their modern origin must be admitted, notwithstanding the fact that they bear the name of Hiranyakēshi. In regard to the word *patala*, Dr Müller (Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 524) thus writes — ‘We find that several of the Sūtras are divided into chapters called *patalas*. This is a word never used for the subdivisions of the Brāhmanas. Its meaning is a covering, the surrounding skin or membrane, it is also used for a tree. If so, it would seem to be almost synonymous with *liber* and *βιβλος* and it would mean book, after meaning originally a sheet of paper made of the surrounding bark of trees. If writing came in towards the latter half of the Sutra period, it would no doubt be applied at the same time to reducing the hymns and Brāhmanas to a written form. Previously to that time, however, we are bound to maintain that the collection of the hymns, and the immense mass of the Brahmana literature, were preserved by means of oral tradition only.

people, to keep a city free of the fear of thieves (*taskaras*) for the extent of a yojana, and a village for the extent of a krossha, and to call upon the people residing in these bounds to make-good the thefts which may occur in them Taxes (*shulka*) should be raised as imposed, but not taken from parties learned in Védic works (*shrotriya*), females of any class, young people acquiring knowledge, devotees, Shúdras discharging their duties (they being the property of others?), the blind, the dumb, the deaf, the diseased, and beggars The youth who without deliberate intention goes to the wife of another person or to a virgin, is to be punished. He who repeatedly does this has to have his member excised, or to be deprived of his property and banished The A'rya having connection with a Shudra woman is to be banished, a Shudra having connection with an Arya is to be killed. If a person goes to a woman of his own class being the wife of another, he shall have the fourth part of his tongue cut off for the first offence If he repeat the offence, he shall have his whole tongue cut out If a Shúdra reproach a dutiful Arya, or put himself on equality with him on a road, on a couch, or on a seat, he is to be beaten with a stick. For murder, theft, seizing (another's) land, and going to the wife of another a Shúdra is to be killed, and a Brahman to have his eyes extracted * All this elevates caste to its own summit, as in the Law Books

* नाह्य धर्म्यं श्रेष्ठायै वध्यं शूद्रं भार्यायां दारं चास्य कर्षयेत् सवर्णाया मन्यपूर्वाया सकस्तनिपाते पादः पतती चतुर्ये सर्वजिह्वाच्छेदनं शूद्रस्यार्थं धार्मिकमाक्रोश-
पतो वाचि पाथि श्रम्यायाभासनेच समीभवतो दण्डताडनं पुरुषवधे स्त्रिये भूम्यादाने पर-
दारानुगवेश इति स्वान्यादाप वध्यश्चक्षुर्निरोधस्त्र्येतेषु ब्राह्मणस्य Hir (Dh) Sā.
xxvii 19

The *Āpastamba Samayācharika Sūtra* and *Dharma Sūtra*, belong to the same Vēda—the Black Yajur, as those which we have now reviewed. They have been looked at by Dr. Muller, who thus writes of them: “*Āpastamba*, in his *Samayachārīka Sūtras*, declares distinctly that there are four Varnas, the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, the Shudra; but that the initiatory rites, the Upanayana in particular, are only intended for the three first classes. The same is implied, no doubt, in the other Sūtras which give the rules as to the proper time when a young Brāhman, a young Kshatriya, or a young Vaishya should be apprenticed with their spiritual tutors, but never say at what age this or similar ceremonies should be performed for one not belonging to these three Varnas. Yet they never exclude the Shudra expressly, nor do they represent him as the born slave or client of the other castes. In the Dharma-sūtras the social degradation of the Shudra is as great as in the later Law Books, and the same crime, if committed by a Brahman and a Shudra, is visited with very different punishments. Thus if a member of the three Varnas commits adultery with the wife of a Shudra, he is to be banished; if a Shudra commits adultery with the wife of a member of the three Varnas, he is to be executed. If a Shudra abuses an honest member of the three Varnas, his tongue is to be cut out. He is to be flogged for not keeping at a respectful distance. For murder, theft, and pillage the Shudra is executed; the Brāhman, if caught in the same offences, is only deprived of his eyesight. This is the same iniquitous law which we find in the later Law Books. But although the distinction between the Shudras and the other Varnas is so

sharply drawn by A'pastamba, he admits that a Shudra, if he obeys the law may be born again as a Vaishya, the Vaishya as a Kshatriya, and the Kshatriya as a Bráhmín, and that a Brahman if he disregards the law will be born again as a Kshatriya, the Kshatriya as a Vaishya, and the Vaishya as a Shudra * This passage contains evidence that the A pastamba Samajacharika and Dharmasutras of A pastamba agree, in the matters mentioned, with those of Hiranyakéshí, to which we have above referred They both exclude the Shudra from the Upanayana and other rites to which the higher classes have access Some of the other Sutras do the same thing which is taught by implication, as noticed by Dr Muller in all the Vedic Sŭtras † The enslavement of the Shudra I rather think, is taken for granted by Hiranyakéshí, when he hints at the easy appropriation of him, in the terms we have above referred to ‡ The iniquitous degradation of the Shudra,—corresponding with that of the Law Books,—is expressed in the same language both by Hiranyakéshí and A pastamba It is quite possible, however from the reference made to the "Purana Shlokas, which we have noticed in a portion of the Hiranyakeshí Sutras, that it is a posterior addition made to them expressly to effect their agreement with the Law Books and other later authorities § A pastambas reference to a change of

* Hist of A. S. Lit p 207

† See reference to the Kátayána Shrauta Sutras, p 183, above.

‡ See p. 192

§ Dr Muller in a note thus draws attention to an instance of direct fraud in a matter of this kind in later times — 'Apast 1 6
अज्ञानांमदुष्टकर्मणांमुपायनं वेदाभ्यसनमन्याधेयं फलवति च कर्माणि ॥ शुश्रूषा द्रुह

places in future births,—the consequence of the full development of the doctrine of the metempsychosis—occurs, in the same words in *Hiranyakeshī* *

In the *Ashvalāyana Shrauta Sūtra*,† associated with the Rīg-Vēda, we have found no passages referring to Caste which are not anticipated by our extracts from the *Brahmanas*, except in so far as the reputed *gotras* (families) of the Brāhmans and the progenitor Rishis recognized by them in the *pravara*, or initial invocation of the god Agni, with the names of ancient Rishis added, at the consecration of fire, are concerned. These *gotras* and *pravaras*, as found in this *Sūtra* are tabulated by Dr Muller ‡. We shall afterwards have to notice them

स्येतेषां वर्णानां ॥ In later works such as the *Sanskṛita ganapati* this *Sūtra* of *Apastamba* which excludes the *Shūdras* from initiation, has been so altered as to admit them MS E I H 912, p 16
अथ शूद्राणामुपनयनं । आपस्तम्ब । शूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपनयनं । मद्यपानरहिताना-
मिति कण्वत्कर ॥—To effect this fraud (if a MS of the *Maharishitra* was before its author), nothing more was necessary than to overlook the involved but unexpressed, short vowel (*a*) of the preceding word forming the negative. The passage in *Hiranyakeshī* stands thus —
चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय वैश्य शूद्रास्तेषां पूर्वं पूर्वं जन्मत श्रेयानशूद्राणामदुष्टकर्म-
णामुपनयो वेदाध्ययनमग्न्याधेय फलवत्तिष्ठ कर्माणि (xxvi 1) All that was necessary for the fraud was to commence the quotation without picking up the negative *a* from *shrēyana* preceding *shūdrānam*. The *Shūdras* initiations, etc effected by the fraud notwithstanding were not to be made by the Vedic mantras (still confined to the higher *Varnas*) but by what are called the *Nāma mantras*—mantras framed on the principle of the mere recognition of the names of the later gods

* *Hir Su* xxvii 10

† For the copy of these *Sūtras* which we have used, we are indebted to *Bhattambhatta Phadaké* of *Wáí*

‡ *Hist. of A. S. Lit* pp 380 6

in connexion with the still existing divisions in the Indian Brahmanhood

The *Grihya Sūtra*,—or Sūtra of Domestic Rites,—of Ashvalayana, also furnishes us with little material connected with caste. The lowly Chandala is thus associated with other beings in the distribution of rice at the Paka yajna (the sacrifice of cooked meats*) resorted to on several domestic occasions —“Let *anna* be thrown on the ground to dogs, Chandalas, demons, the fallen, and crows † Of sacramental ceremonies to be used by the three Varnas up to the time of initiation the following are mentioned on the authority of “Upaniṣhads’ not otherwise specified —*Gaibhālambhana punsavana, anaralobhana* which are to be performed in the third month of conception, *simantonnyana*, to be performed in the fourth month of conception, *jātakarma* to be performed at birth, *anna-prāshana*, to be performed in the sixth month after birth, *chaula* which ought to be performed in the third year after birth, and the *upanayana*,‡ to be performed in the eighth year after birth in the case of Brāhmans, in the eleventh in the case of Kshatriyas, and the twelfth in the case of Vaishyas, though they may be delayed for double these periods in the respective cases mentioned, at the expiry of which if they be not performed the parties will be reckoned apostates—*patita savitṛika* (fallen from the savitṛi or sacred gayatrī), and incapacitated for initiation, study, and social intercourse

* Dr Muller (p 208) takes *paḷa* in this word to signify *small* or *good*, as it sometimes does.

(*vyavaharéyuh*) * In connexion with the return of a youth to his family after the expiry of his pupilage, and the burnt-offering which is then to be made, Agni is to be addressed as having “the *Brahman* for his mouth, the *Rajanya* for his arm, the *Vaishya* for his belly, and women for his ——— †

Allied in origin to the Sutra now referred to is the *Mánava Kalpa* (Ceremonial) *Sūtra*, connected with the Black Yajur Veda, the first four books of which have been lately lithographed under the auspices of Dr Goldstucker. In this curious and rare fragment we have found but little which bears on caste while this little has on other authorities, been mostly anticipated in the preceding pages. The leavings at the Homa, however it tells us are to be ate and drunk by the Bráhmaṇ and not by the Rajanya or Vaishya ‡. The second birth (*dvija*) is not to be reckoned as effected in the case of Shudras, even when the Sanskáras of the Dvijas (the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya) are practised by them §. Pious Rájanyas are recommended to have a continuous Agnihotra under the care of a Ritviṇ, for it is the Bráhmaṇ who has the (special) privilege of sacrifice. In connexion with this, the commentator (Kumarila) holds that no Brahman engaged in the occupation of other castes should be employed in the Agnihotra (or other sacrificial rites), and quotes in support of this view a dictum (which also occurs in the

* Ash Gr S6 1 12 19

† Ib iii 8

‡ *Mánava Kalpa Sutra*, fol 55 (b) The transcript (nearly amounting to a fac simile) was made by a Sanskrit student, Miss Amelia Rattenbury

§ *Mánava Kalpa Sutra*, fol. 76 (6)

Manu Smṛiti) to the effect that “ Bráhmans who take care of cattle who trade who practise mechanical and sportive arts who are body-attendants who are usurers, are to be treated as Shudras * ”

The Sūtras very unequivocally bring us to the Law Books. The time of their respective authors, or rather collectors we may afterwards notice

Without enlarging at present on what has so evidently conducted us to what are, undoubtedly, the positive institutions of Caste, we would now make a brief recapitulation of this long section of our work, with a view to concentrating on the precise subject of our inquiries the scattered rays which it furnishes

The ruling tribe of India for many ages past has been that of the Aryas whose language (the oldest specimens of which we have in the Vedas and which was ultimately called the Sanskrit) is admitted by all philologists to be cognate with the Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, Armenian, Persian and other European and Asiatic languages, comprehended in the Indo-Teutonic family. It bears the closest analogy to the Zend, in which exist the ancient literary works of the followers of Zoroaster, or the Iranians, or Parsis. The *Iranians* derived their name from their supposed primitive seat as an organized community *Aryana Vaejo* (the Aryan Vaejo), on the slopes of the mountainous country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, the general name of the land over which they afterwards spread on their way to the south being *Arya*, the

* Mánava Kalpa Sūtras, fol 98 (b). The dictum quoted occurs in the Manu Smṛiti, viii 102 where it is applied to the treatment of witnesses.

noun of the adjective *Aryana* now mentioned. The word *Arya* in Sanskrit designates the people who had come from *Arya*, in the first instance, to the banks of the Indus, where, in consequence of social and religious changes, they became to a great extent separated from their congeners, who had failed to follow them to the limits of their wanderings. On the affluents and banks of the Indus, the Aryas composed the hymns now found in the Védic collections, which are the only sources of our knowledge of their ancient state. The religious differences which occurred between them and the Iranians were of considerable magnitude, but nevertheless they left many traces, as we have seen, of a common faith and practice in the ages of antiquity. The Aryas were in many respects an interesting people, and considerably advanced in civilization, but as they extended themselves in the land of the Indus and adjoining territories, and came in contact with other tribes who had preceded them in their immigrations into these regions of the earth, they manifested to them great pride of race and violence of religious antipathy and opposition as is abundantly evident from numerous passages which we have produced from their ancient literary remains. This pride of race and violence of religious antipathy were the origin of the caste feeling everafterwards displayed by the Aryas to the tribes whom they supposed to be inferior to themselves, and more especially to those who have not been able in whole or in part to resist their religious and civil domi-

they sought to possess, as scarcely human beings. Their very names they made the synonyms of fiends and devils.

But in connexion with Caste the community of the Aīyas themselves has to be looked at as well as their bearing to the tribes and races exterior to that community. Though religious and social distinctions were known among them from their entrance into India Caste in the technical sense of the term did certainly not then exist among them. The *Brahmā* or *Brahman* was at first merely the utterer or conductor of *brahma* or prayer, the *Rājanya*, the prince, and the *Kshatṛia*, or *Kshatriya* were the possessors and dispensers of the *raj* or government, and *kshatṛia* power or authority, and the *Visha Vita*, or *Vaishya*, was an ordinary householder. Rank and profession were seen in these distinctions, but they were founded on fitness conventional understanding and arrangement, and not on an alleged divine generation from the body or substance of deity. As far as any religious pre-eminence might be associated with them, they were not even hereditary. The Brahmins asked no privileges on account of original status or dignity. As distinguished from other priests associated with themselves and belonging to the same class they were only, on first obtaining distinction, conductors of the greater ceremonials and the appointed *Purohitas* or family-priests of kings and princes. The highest parties in a religious point of view in the Aryan community were the Rishis, the poetical authors of their hymns and these might belong either to kingly, priestly, common, or even Dasyu, families. Instances of their intermarriage in both kingly and priestly families are brought to notice. *Rajanyas* and

Vaishyas had the privilege of conducting sacrifice as well as *Bráhmans*, and no peculiar appropriation of duty to *Vaishyas* was for long made by religious legislation. The name *Shūdra* does not even occur in the early parts of the collection of the Vedas. It belonged to a people first found (and enslaved) by the *Aryas* on the banks of the Indus, and it was afterwards given to other bodies of men placed in a similar position with regard to the dominant tribe. The doctrine of Caste impurity and defilement is not found in the ancient Védic collections though the *Bráhmanas* make allusions to sacramental defilement. The peculiar conception of the god *Brahma*, in connexion with which the theory of Caste is associated had been formed in the first of the Vedic ages. The Hymn of the Primeval Male in which it is first found in an incipient form does not belong to the earlier portions of the Vedas.

It is in the derivative Vedas that the predominance of the *Brahman* in sacrifice first begins authoritatively to appear. In these derivative Vedas, too, various social distinctions and professional functions are first mentioned, though without any reference to an established religious foundation. Custom it may be admitted, however, was at the time of the arrangement of these Védas preparing the way for the development of inter-Aryan Caste. In one of the *Khillas*, or supplementary chapters, of the White *Yajur Veda* that denominated the *Purushamedha*,—certainly not older than the period of the *Bráhmanas*,—numerous distinctive and curious classes in the Indian community are brought to notice. Many of these classes were after-

reference to their specified associations and connexions shows that the Caste system was not matured when the chapter of the Purushamédha was composed

A great deterioration of the Indian mind bearing on the development of Caste, appears in connexion with the *Atharva*, the latest of the Vedic collections. The Indian people are obviously brought to notice in it as bound in the fetters of an established hierarchy and rampant superstition. The priest, particularly the priest of the *Atharva* class, is dominant in that work. In it, too, the Brahman, or the *Purohita*, is not the minister or substitute but the lord of the prince, and peculiar privileges are consequently to be enjoyed by him.

In the *Bráhmanas*, or earliest Liturgical and Rubrical Directories and Compilations of the Legendry and Speculation of the Bráhmans,—the supposed age of which has just been mentioned,—the progress of the Brahman to power, and the gradual development of Caste in general, receives some valuable incidental illustrations. These compositions always treat of the Bráhmans as a pre-eminent class, ascribing their “beauty and wisdom” to the Gáyatrí verse, while they speak of the Kshatriya as obtaining “splendour and bravery” from the Trishtub, and of the *Vaishya*, as getting cattle, from the Jagati. A certain Rishi of the Védas, a *Dásyaputra* they tell us, enjoyed his status only by the special favour of the gods. The Brahman, they say, stands in the relationship to others of Brihaspati, the Purohita of the gods. They encourage the maintenance of a hereditary priesthood, even by force. They relate long legends to enhance the virtue of the royal Vishvámitra, who had been raised to the Brahmanhood by his adoption of a Bráhman who

had narrowly escaped been sacrificed to the gods, and they degrade the memory of this Vishvamitra by making him the parent of certain aboriginal tribes. They throw distinctive light on the manner in which the Bráhmans practically obtained a monopoly in sacrifice. The Brahman, they tell us, acted in their own peculiar character and functions when they conducted sacrifices, while the Kshatriyas laid aside their peculiar character and functions when they sacrificed and performed a work beyond their general ability. They invent stories of excessive (almost incalculable) rewards having been given by princes to officiating priests. They put the Brahman in the class of the gods, and the Shudra in the class of the devils. Nay, they declare that the Brahman is every divinity. In the lack of a goat for a sacrifice, the Homa, they declare, may be made at the right hand of a Brahman. He is the Vaishvanara fire, if the Homa be made on the *Bráhman's* hand it is as if made by Agni himself. The *Bráhman* is of the form of the day, the *Kshatriya* of the form of the night. The *Shúdra* is only the watchman at the great horse-sacrifice. It is perhaps in connexion with his watching at sacrifice or in his participation in the edibles or potables of sacrifice (also referred to in the Brahmanas) that the Shudra in a particular instance is invited to sacrifice*. The Brahman they recommend to seek to be the personal representative at sacrifice of every Kshatriya. Defilement and impurity they first bring to notice, but this not in connexion with the persons of men in ordinary circumstances, as in the matured system of caste, but in connexion with sacramental services.

* See above p 163

One of the legends of the Bráhmaṇas, agreeing in some respects with the Mosaic history of the Deluge, seems to indicate that the A'ryas had some tradition of their having passed some great mountainous range to the north on their coming to India. This agrees with the inferences noticed in the commencement of this section of our work. A party connected with Gandhara is represented in the Shatapatha Bráhmaṇa as speaking in his proper character, and thus as an A'ryan. Pentads and Heptads are mentioned in the same work, but these perhaps only in connexion with the peoples of the Panjab and the contiguous country.

The old *Aranyakas* and *Upamshads*, which are founded on Pantheism, or on Dualism, are philosophically speaking unfavourable to caste, inasmuch as they treat of all the varieties of men and animals as merely developments of *Brahma*, which they use in the new sense of the universal Self, Soul, or Spirit. They even ascribe the origin of the knowledge of *Brahma* (in a passage which we shall afterwards quote) to the Kshatriyas as distinguished from the Bráhmans*. Yet incidental references and legends in these works are sometimes not inconsistent with the claims of the Bráhmans for pre-eminence. *Brahma*, they say, is the birth place of the Kshatra. God in the Bráhmaṇ is in his highest form. The doctrine of *Brahma* (or Soul) may be learned from a Kshatriya, but it goes against the grain for a Bráhmaṇ to approach a Kshatriya to learn this doctrine. Looking to the non-initiated world, these philosophical works recognize the Bráhmaṇical *Aśhrams*, or Orders, as in the later Law Books. The founders of the Indian Schools, in general, accommo-

* Chhandogya Up. v. 3. 7

dated themselves to the prevailing customs and superstitions of the country

The *Vedic Sūtras*, the period of which probably ranges from 600 to 200 before Christ, and which are intermediate between the Bráhmaṇas and the Law Books, show a marked growth in the development of caste. This remark is more applicable however, to the *Shrauta Sūtras* and *Samayachārika* or *Dharma Sūtras*, than to the *Grihya Sūtras* or *Sūtras* of Domestic Services, but our references to them have been so recent that they need not be here recapitulated

From what we have collected, translated, and said in this long section, it must be apparent that Caste, which was not an original institution of the Aryas, arose from small and almost imperceptible beginnings though in a way which at the same time is not unintelligible in the view of the admitted proclivities of human nature. Our conclusions respecting it though founded on a personal and special examination of the Vedic works to which we have referred (with the helps with which they are now associated), are wonderfully in accordance with those of the learned orientalists who have of late years given their attention to it in Europe, such as Lassen, Roth, Weber, Muir, and Max Muller. All these learned gentlemen have, at greater or less length, noticed the rise and advancement of the Brahmanical power much in the way we have done in the preceding pages. Dr Muller, for example, thus writes in his usual animated style, but with an acute recognition of facts and principles — "The three occupations of the Aryas in India were fighting, cultivating the soil, and worshipping the gods. Those who fought

the battles of the people would naturally acquire influence and rank and their leaders appear in the Vêda as Rajas or Kings. Those who did not share in the fighting would occupy a more humble position, they were called Vish, Vaishya or householders, and would no doubt have to contribute towards the maintenance of the armies.

“ But a third occupation, that of worshipping the gods, was evidently considered by the whole nation to be as important and as truly essential to the well-being of the country as fighting against enemies or cultivating the soil. However imperfect and absurd their notions of the Deity may seem to us, we must admit that no nation was ever so anxious to perform the service of their gods as the early Hindus. It is the gods who conquer the enemy, it is the gods who vouchsafe a rich harvest. Health and wealth, children, friends, flocks, and gold, all are the gifts of the gods. And these are not unmeaning phrases with those early poets. “ Among a nation of this peculiar stamp the priests were certain to acquire great influence at a very early period, and, like all priests, they were as certain to use it for their own advantage, and to the ruin of all true religious feeling. It is the lifespring of all religion that man feels the immediate presence of God and draws as near to God as a child to his father. But the priests maintained that no one should approach the gods without their intercession, and that no sacrifices should be offered without their advice. Most of the Indo-European nations have resisted these claims, but in India the priests were successful, and in the Vêda, already, though only in some of the latest hymns, the position of the priest or the Purohita, is firmly esta-

blished " "These very hymns were the chief strength on which the priests relied and they were handed down from father to son as the most valuable heirloom A hymn by which the gods had been invoked at the beginning of a battle, and which had secured to the king a victory over his enemies, was considered an unfailing spell, and it became the sacred war-song of a whole tribe But the priests only were allowed to chant these songs they only were able to teach them, and they impressed the people with a belief that the slightest mistake in the words, or the pronounciation of the words, would rouse the anger of the gods Thus they became the masters of all religious ceremonies, the teachers of the people the ministers of kings Their favour was courted, their anger dreaded by a pious but credulous race The priests never aspired [nominally] to Royal power They left the insignia of royalty to the military caste But woe to the warrior who would not submit to their spiritual guidance, or who would dare to perform his sacrifice without waiting for his Samuel ! There were fierce and sanguinary struggles between the priests and the nobility before the King consented to bow before the Brahman In the Veda we still find Kings composing their own hymns to the gods, royal bards, Rajarshis, who united in their person the powers both of king and priest The family of Vishvamitra has contributed its own collection of hymns to the Rig-Vêda, but Vishvamitra himself was of royal descent, and if in later times he is represented as admitted to the Brahmanic family of the Bhrigus—a family famous for its sanctity as well as its valour—this is but an excuse invented by the Brahmans, in order to

explain what would otherwise have upset their old system King Janaka of Videha is represented in some of the Brahmanas as more learned than any of the Bráhmans at his Court Yet when instructed by Yajnavalkya as to the real nature of the soul and its identity with Brahma, or the divine spirit, he exclaims I will give thee, O Venerable, the kingdom of the Videhas, and my own self to become thy slave As the influence of the Bráhmans extended they became more and more jealous of their privileges and, while fixing their own privileges, they endeavoured at the same time to circumscribe the duties of the warriors and the householders Those of the Aryas who would not submit to the laws of the three estates were treated as outcasts, and they are chiefly known by the name of Vratyas or tribes They spoke the same language as the three Aryan castes, but they did not submit to Brahmanic discipline, and they had to perform certain penances if they wished to be readmitted into the Aryan society The aboriginal inhabitants again who conformed to the Brahmanic law, received certain privileges, and were constituted as a fourth caste, under the name of Shudras, whereas all the rest who kept aloof were called Dasyus, whatever their language might be * We clearly see the path over which the Bráhmans moved though we cannot sympathize with either their aspirations or their success Caste was a growth, pride being its seminal principle—the pride of race, and the pride of religious presumption and pre-eminence, issuing in arrogant monopoly

VI—CASTE IN THE INDIAN EPICS

In looking for information as to the origin and early development of Caste, we have hitherto confined our attention to the Védic works, of different characters and ages, which, as far as that institution is concerned have passed in review before us in the preceding section of our volume. We have next to seek for illustrations of its action in Indian society in the literature which may be considered, at least, in its original form, intermediate between these Védic works and the Hindu Law-Books, in which Caste is essentially bound up with Hinduism, and decreed, as far as priestly legislation can accomplish the matter, to last till the world, by its impairment and neglect is ripe for destruction.* We now turn our attention to the *Epics*, which, when critically viewed are really the best sources of information respecting the working of Caste influences and their extension and maintenance throughout India.

By the Indian Epics, we mean the *Ramáyana* and the *Mahabharata*. They are both designated *Kávyá*, poetry properly so-called, and *itihasa* or *ákhyaána*, narrative or tale. They were first denominated Epics by Sir William Jones, whose conjectures, even respecting what was but imperfectly known in his day, were often of a happy character. "The appropriateness of the epithet," says Professor H. H. Wilson, "has been denied by some of those ultra-admirers of Virgil and Homer, who will allow the dignity of the Epos to be claimed by none but the objects of their idolatry and, in the restricted sense in which a poem is entitled *Epic*, agreeable to the definition of

* See before, note, p. 72

Aristotle, it may indeed be matter of question, if the term be strictly applicable to the Hindu Poems. Although, however, it might not be impossible to vindicate their pretensions to such a title, yet it is not worth while to defend them. It matters little what they are called, and they will not lose their value, as interesting narratives of important events, as storehouses of historical traditions and mythological legends, as records of the ancient social and political condition of India, and as pictures of natural manners, if instead of *epic*, they be denominated *heroic poems* *. As they are now found, they are both especially the Mahabharata, deficient in unity, and have an immense number of anachronisms, episodes, digressions, discussions interpolations, many of which are posterior to their original composition. We notice them in what we conceive to be the order of that composition.

1 The *Ramáyana*, or Progress-of-Rama, derives its name from Rama, King of Ayodhya, (‘Oude’), the thirty-fourth in descent according to one of its recensions from the mythical personage Vaivasvata or Manu, the son of the sun. Its great object is to celebrate, after a mythical or allegorical form, the advancement of the Aryan power and rites among the uncivilized tribes of the south of India the opposition to which is typified by a Rákshasa or giant named Ravana,† who is said to have carried off Sítá the wife of Ráma, the daughter of Śwadhaya, the representative of the line of Janaka of Videha, or Maithila

* Introduction to Johnson’s Selections from the Mahábhárata.

† What this is to India, says Dr Max Muller, ‘the war of Persia was to Greece, the victory of patriotic valour over brute force. The muses of Herodotus are the Rámáyana of Hellas. Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 17. Yet, how vastly different their character.’

This occurred when Rama, banished by his father Dasharatha, was living as an ascetic in the forests, along with one of his brothers Lakshmana. The action of the poem is primarily directed to the recovery and reinstatement of Sita, and on the whole it is of a uniform casting Rāma, with the assistance of Sugriva, Hanuman and other monkey chiefs, (representatives of forest tribes,) invaded Lanka, the country of the ravisher, took his capital, killed Ravana in fight, established the brother of the offender (Vibhishana, the formidable) on the throne, and returned to Ayodhyá, where he reigned in succession to his father. The sphere of the poem, viewed in its essential range as observed by Professor Lassen "is geographically limited to the country north of the Vindhya [mountains], in the south there is nothing but a wilderness of forests, with monkeys for inhabitants." Little notice is taken in it of any southern peoples, though there are allusions to them in Sugriva's charge to the monkeys requiring them to search various localities for Sitá, as will afterwards appear, and the extension of its story to Lanká, or Ceylon, as thought by Lassen is probably posterior to its original composition. It is attributed to Válmiki, a Brahman represented as the contemporary of Rama, but certainly it was not composed in the days of that king, while large portions of it so speak of Válmiki as to show that he was not their author. The portions of it which allude to Rāma as an incarnation of a portion, or a portion-of-a-portion (*anshansha*) of the god Viṣṇu do not seem to belong to its original plan.* It was originally handed

* "In the Epic poems, says Lassen, "Rama and Krishna certainly appear as incarnations of Viṣṇu, but at the same time as human

down orally, and is said to have been sung at a great Ashvamedha, or royal horse sacrifice by Kusha and Lava, the reputed [but disowned] sons of its hero, "their joint name (*Kushalava*), as remarked by Lassen, "signifying a bard and at a later time an actor, as though the hero had through his seed given birth to a race of bards" A good portion of it, distinguished for the ease and naturalness of its language, may have been composed when the Sanskrit was a spoken language, which it ceased to be soon after

heroes and these two representations are so little commingled that both of the two ordinarily display themselves only like other more highly gifted men, act according to human motives, and do not by any means turn their divine superiority to account It is only in single sections especially added to inculcate their divinity that they come forward as Vishnu No one can read the two poems with attention without being reminded of the later addition of these deifying sections of the awkward manner in which they are often introduced, of the looseness of their connexion and of their superfluousness with reference to the progress of the narrative Even as the Mahābhārata now stands Krishna is not the principal hero of the poem this part is appropriated to the Pāndavas He certainly belonged to the original Pandava legend but only as the hero of his tribe and not as occupying a higher position than the Pāndavas His elevation above his fellow heroes is due to later endeavours but does not pervade the whole work and it is only in a very few places that the later editors have ventured to call the Bhārata the holy book of Krishna For Lassen on the Indian Epics, see his *Indische Altherthumskunde* i 479-499 Gorresio in his preface to the fifth volume of his text of the Rāmāyana, after quoting the passages in which Rāma is spoken of in that work as an Avatāra of Vishnu hesitates to pronounce on the question of their original connection, or not with the poem At p xlviii he says "Resti dunque sospesa la sentenza *sub judice lis* The passages quoted are but few in number and the idea which they express is certainly not wrought into the body of the poem

the time of Buddha. Its legends (as well as those of the Mahābhārata which is posterior to it) Professor Lassen justly holds "were remolded in a way which tended to generalize them and obliterate the features of the more ancient times, and while the whole material was subjected to a priestly, religious influence." "The views of a later period," the same distinguished author adds "penetrated the ancient legend, the doctrines of the three great gods [Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva] of the four castes and their position, and whatever other ideas were not a part of the Indian system took possession also of the traditions of the earliest era. The priestly element of the history of the gods restricted the martial character of the heroic legend, and confined it to narrower limits. The battles in the Ramayana seek rather to excite our astonishment by supernatural personages and weapons than to awaken our wonder by great natural human prowess. Pahlavas (the Pactyes of the Greeks) Shakas Yavanas, (Iônes, or Greeks) are mentioned in it*, and in all probability, the Yavanas here referred to became known to the Indians posterior to the days of Alexander the Great. It is difficult, almost impossible in many instances to distinguish between the more ancient and more modern portions of the work, between those which are prior and those which are posterior to the triumph of Buddhism. It exists it may be proper here to add, in at least two recensions the Northern recension and Gaud, or Bengal recension which, in some places, differ considerably in their wording though little in their meaning. Sometimes we have had the one, and sometimes the other in our hands, when making our extracts. In the portions

of the Ramayana meritoriously published and translated by Drs Marshman and Carey, there is a combination, or mixture of the recensions Schlegel attempted, in the portions which he edited and translated, to give the northern text in its purity. It is the Gaud recension which of late years has been very neatly and accurately edited, with an excellent Italian translation by the Cavaliere Gaspare Gorresio. In the Sanskrit text of the work it is said to consist of 24 000 verses*. One of my friends (the Rev J W Gardner) who has kindly counted them for me finds them to amount to 20 213.

It has evidently been an object with the authors of the Ramayana to represent the Caste system—especially as connected with the Brāhmans Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras,—as essentially formed in the days of Rāma the King of Ayodhyā, whose doings they celebrate in a mythical form. These castes are often mentioned together, throughout that poem, as forming the recognized divisions of Hindu society. In its introduction it is prophesied of Rama, as the descendant of Raghu, one of his predecessors on the throne, that he should establish the four *Varnas* in the world according to their respective duties.† Among the inhabitants of his capital were the excellent twice-born men maintaining the sacrificial fire, deeply read in the Vēda and its six Angas,‡ distributors of thousands (of gifts), full

* Ram. l. at the end

† Rāmāyana l. 199

‡ The six Védāngas or “members-of the Vēda.” “This name, Dr Müller (Hist. A. S. Lit. p. 109) correctly says, does not imply the existence of six distinct books or intimately with the rest of the Rāmāyana.”

of truth, discipline, and mercy, like the ancient great Rishis, controllers of themselves * Of its people in general it is said that no one of them was *anydyavrittiman*, addicted to a calling not his own † “The Kshatra Brahma, and Vita were loyal to their sovereign, while there were no Sankaras (mixed classes) either by birth or by conduct ‡ “All the Varnas kept by their proper work § To the horse-sacrifice of Dasharatha the father of Rama, performed for the sake of offspring, learned and devout Bráhmans were ordered to be summoned by Sumantra, his minister, who is said to have introduced Suyajna, Vama-deva Javah, Káshyapa, the Purohita Vasishtha, and others, the poet by a gross anachronism going back to the times of the Vedas || These Brahmans began to conduct the sacrifice Multitudes of their caste were present, who were furnished with abundance of food and drink Pious persons of the four castes were ordered by Vasishtha to be invited and also Janaka, king of Mithila, the King of Káshí, the king

subjects, the study of which was necessary either for the reading, the understanding or the proper sacrificial employment of the Veda Dr M thinks they were originally ‘integral portions of the Bráhmanas, in the same manner as the [primitive] Puránas and Itihásas and not the “small and barren tracts now known by this name (p 110) They are mentioned in the little Charanavyuha to which we must afterwards refer as *shukshá* (pronunciation), *kalpa* (ceremonial) *vyakrána* (grammar) *nirukta*, (explanation, of words) *chanda* (metre) and *gyotisha* (astronomy and astrology) All the Bráhmans consider them to have still these divisions.

* Ram 1 5 20 † Rám 1 6 6 ‡ Rám 1 6 21

सर्वे वर्णा स्वर्म्मभि Rám 1 16 (N R)

|| Rám 1 11 6 9 See also 11 8

of Kekayi Lomapada the king of Anga, the kings to the east of Sindhusauvira and Surashtra, and the kings of the south, who must consequently be supposed to have been followers of the Aryan faith * Thousands of Brahmans were feasted separately The king, bent on increasing his family, presented on that occasion the east country to the Hotri, the west to the Adhvaryu, the south to the Brahman, and the north to the Udgatri, but these classes of priests devoted to the study of the Veda refused this offering, accepting however 'a million of cows, a hundred millions of (pieces of) gold and four times as many pieces of silver In addition to this he gave ten millions (of the gold) of Jambunada to the Brahmans in general † A somewhat similar liberality was shown by him on the occasion of the marriage of his four sons, when he gave the Brahmans four hundred thousand cows ‡ Of even this liberality, the rich Brāhmans are represented as scarcely standing in need Vasiṣṭha is made to decline for his cow Shabala (which yielded according to desire) an offer from Vishvamitra of fourteen thousand elephants, with

* Some have supposed that the Surashtra and Sauvira here mentioned were contiguous countries but this was not the case Sita in resisting the addresses of Havana (Rām. iii 53 56) alludes to their distance from one another as an illustration of the distance between him and Rāma her husband in her estimation Surashtra was in the peninsula of Kathiawad and Sauvira (or Sindhu-Sauvira) a district on the Indus far to the east The Brahmans of Sehwan (the Sindomana of Alexander's historians) identify their town with Sindhu Sauvira, but erroneously, as it is comparatively near Surashtra

† Rām i 12 12 et. seq Compare both recensions

‡ Rām i 74 28 9

golden appurtenances, eight hundred golden chariots, with four white horses for each, one thousand and ten horses of good birth by country and family, and ten millions of cows of various colours and hues * This cow, Shabala, the creation of the ingenuity of the Brahmans seems to have had great regard for the glory of Brahmans, for she says to her owner 'A Kshatriya's power, it is said, is not so powerful as that of a Brahman, which being the power of the Brahma is divine and greater than that of the Kshatra † An extraordinary conflict is represented as having been maintained between Vishvámitra and Vashishtha, which ended in the former performing most extraordinary austerities to obtain the Brahmanhood which the earlier traditions of the Hindus represent him as having acquired ‡ Bhaguratha the son of Dilipa is exhibited as performing austerities for the descent of the Ganges, for a thousand years, surrounded in the hot season with five fires and in the cold lying in water, according to the ordinances (found in Manu) § Allusions are made in it to the destruction in a former age of the Kshatriyas by Parashurama, the son of Jamadagni, because of their opposition to the Brahmans || Dasharatha, on his sending his son Bharata to his grandfather, thus counsels him —“ Be thou modest and pious and humble, O my son, by every endeavour seek to please the Brahmans devoted to the work of the Shruti and exerting themselves in service Ask thou counsel of them, let

* Rám 1 54 19 22

† Ib 1 50 14

‡ Rámáyana 1 54 67 See on this Muir's Texts, 1 98 110

§ Ram 1. 44 9-12 See before, p 34

|| Ram 1 76 21 et seq

then counsel be received by thee as the elixir of immortality. They are the root of prosperity and glory. The Brahmans, the utterers of the brahma, are necessary in every ceremonial institute. The gods O son O most wise have, for maintaining the existence of men, assumed the abode of humanity becoming gods on earth, the twice born. To them belong the Védas, the Dharmashastra, the disciplinary Institutes, the Niti-shastra, and the science of Archery. * The Brahmans are set forth as deeply lamenting for Rama when ordered by his father to take up his abode in the wilderness, and when they followed him on foot, it is said, he would not ride † Dasha-ratha, his father, who also accompanied him to Chitrakuta, is made to express to one of his wives his deep penitence for having killed a boy who appeared to be of the Brahmanical race, and he was comforted by the youth saying, "I am not of the twice-born, throw aside the fear of (having committed) Brahmicide. I was produced by a Brahman on a female Shudra living in the wilderness ‡ The property as well as the life of a Brahman is represented as sacred, by Bharata, when he complains of Rama having been sent by his father into the wilderness § Rama's success in war is attributed more to the bows, arrows, scimitars and other weapons which he received from the Rishis and other Brahmans than to any portion of the divinity which he is represented as possessing ||

* Rám 1 79, 16-20

† Rám 11 43

‡ Ram 11 66 43

§ Rám 11 74 53

|| Ram 1 30 et in vi loc

The honour of the Bráhmans is set forth as one of the grand duties of morality which are thus spoken of —

सय च धर्म च पराक्रम च
भूतानुकम्पा प्रियवादिता च ।
द्विजातिदेवातिथिपूजन च
एन्थानमाहुस्त्रिदिवस्य सन्त

“ The sages say that truth, and religion, and valor and tenderness for living beings, and affectionate speech, and the service or worship of the twice-born, the gods, and guests, form the path which leads to heaven *’ Here the Bráhmans take precedence of the gods

Little is found in the Ramayana about the distinctive position of the *Kshatriyas*. It must be remembered however, that the grand object of the poem is the laudation of the princes of Ayodhyá in the use of their *Kshatra*, or power. The *Kshatriyas*, it shows us, formed the leaders of armies. Bah, or Vali a monkey prince when expostulating with Rama for wounding him with an arrow not in fair fight, says to him, ‘ Composedness, liberality self confidence, forgiveness, truthfulness, boldness, steadiness, and the disposition to punish transgressors are the qualities of the *Kshatra*. The same quadrumanous

* Rám. ii 118 32 The moral teachings of this chapter are much superior to those of the professed law books. The following lines (verses 13 14) are excellent —

धर्म सत्यपरो लोके मूल धर्मस्य सत्यता ॥
सत्यमेवैश्वरो लोके सत्ये श्रीर्नियत स्थिता ।
सर्व सत्यप्रतिष्ठान तस्मात् सत्यपरो भवेत् ॥

Truth is the foundation of piety in the world the root of religion is truth
Truth is the foundation of piety in the world the root of religion is truth

teacher gives him the following instruction agreeable to the Law Books —“The destroyer of kings, of Brahmans and of cows, the thief, the life-taker, the atheist and the younger brother who marries before the elder go to hell My skin is not fit to be worn by saints What will you do with my bones ? My flesh is not to be ate by a Brahmā chari like thyself O descendant of Raghu, there are five classes (of animals) with five nails which are not to be ate by Brāhmans and Kshatriyas The hare, porcupine, guana, crocodile, and tortoise are these five These other five have been mentioned (by law) to me as inedible—the jackal, crocodile, monkey kinnara, and man * Munis do not touch either my skin or bones. My flesh is not to be ate by saints, I am of the five-nailed † Lakshmana, the brother of Rama, when instructing Sugrīva, the brother and successor of Bali, seems to have made a return for this information, for he repeats this Shloka on the authority of Brahma — ‘ For the slayer of a Brāhman, for the drinker of intoxicants, for the thief, and for the breaker of vows an atonement (*nishkṛti*‡) is prescribed, but for ingratitude there is no atonement §

Though the authors of the Rāmāyana speak of the *Varshyas* and *Shūdras* as having their respective functions

* The word for man here is *nara*, coupled with *vānara* (monkey) —the man of the woods,—according to the native etymologists

† Rām iv 16 22, 30 34

‡ Literally a doing away The word is used in Marāṭhī as well as in Sanskrit and is often nearer the idea of atonement than *prāyas chitta* the meaning of which frequently is “penance, or “penitence

§ ब्रह्मणे च सुराणे च चौरैः भग्नव्रते तथा निष्कृतिर्वहिता राजान् कृतमे नास्ति निष्कृतिः Rām iv 16 1-

vakarma), they did not, it appears to me, seek to recognize any such subordination of castes and ranks founded on diversities of occupation as has been exhibited in later times. In the ninetyeth chapter of the *Ayodhyā-mānda*, the inhabitants of the city of Ayodhya are presented as going out with Bharata in the following order,—to seek Rāma that he might occupy the throne after his father Dasharatha's death. I give their designations in the singular for the sake of convenience, though the plural is used by the poet.

<i>amkara</i>	Jeweller	25 <i>Bandh</i> ,†	Panegyrist
<i>ambahdra</i>	Potter	26 <i>Varata</i>	Varata †
<i>antrakarmak</i> it	Mechanician	27 <i>Vasttrahdra</i> ,	Worker in withes
<i>tropajiv</i>	Man of arms	28 <i>Gandhika</i>	Compounder of perfumes.
<i>yurika</i>	Peacock keeper	29 <i>Panika</i>	Dealer in drinks
<i>tturika</i>	Partridge keeper	30 <i>Pravdrika</i>	Garment maker
<i>iddaka</i>	Borer (as of pearls wood etc.)	31 <i>Sutrahdra</i>	Carpenter ‡
<i>akaka</i>	Splitter	32 <i>Shilpop jiv</i>	Artisan
<i>takara</i> ,	Ivory worker *	33 <i>Hirayakdra</i>	Worker in gold
<i>akara</i>	Dealer in nectar	34 <i>Vriddhyupayiv</i>	Usurer
<i>theopajiv</i>	Perfumer	35 <i>Pradrika</i> ,	Worker in coral
<i>akara</i> ,	Goldsmith.	36 <i>Shaukar ka</i> ,	Pork-dealer
<i>kadhala</i>	Metallic-burnisher	37 <i>Matsyopayiv</i>	Fishmonger
<i>aka</i>	Bather	38 <i>M kavopa</i>	Planter
<i>akaka</i>	Dresser	39 <i>Kunyakara</i> ,	Brazier
	Physician	40 <i>Chitradra</i>	Painter
	Distiller	41 <i>Dhanjavikrdyaka</i>	Grain dealer
	Incense dealer	42 <i>Panyavikrayi</i>	Huckster
	Washerman	43 <i>Phalopajiv</i>	Fruit-seller
	Weaver	44 <i>Pushpopayiv</i>	Flower seller
	Actor	45 <i>Lepahdra</i>	Plasterer
	Encomiast	46 <i>Sthapataya</i>	Architect
	Sūta	47 <i>Takshya</i>	Carpenter
	Māghada	48 <i>Karayantrika</i>	Instrument-maker

toothworker

† Probably the equivalent of Bandhyan

the designation of the Varata (man of a particular race) is unknown

by cords instead of naks, seems judging from the etymology of his name, to have been a

ally his wont

49 <i>Nivapaka</i>	Seedsman	70 <i>Arak tak ita,</i>	Brass founder
50 <i>Ishtakakarakā</i>	Br ckmaker	71 <i>Tamrakuta[krat]</i>	Copper founder
51 <i>Dadhimodakāśa</i>	Cheesemaker	72 <i>Svastikāra</i>	Maker-of figures (on floors etc)
52 <i>M lakara</i>	Gardener	73 <i>Keshakāra</i>	Ha rdresser
53 <i>Changerika vik rayi</i>	Seller of wood sor rei *	74 <i>Bhaktopasaddha ka</i>	Boiler (Cook)
54 <i>Mansopay vi,</i>	Flesher	75 <i>Bishitakāśa</i>	Frier (Cook)
55 <i>Patī kdvapaka</i>	Planter-of the Lodh-tree †	76 <i>Shaktukāra</i>	Baker
56 <i>Churnopayivi</i>	Seller of powders,	77 <i>Shiddhika</i>	Confectione
57 <i>Kdrpdika</i>	Cotton dealer (or teazery)	78 <i>Khandakāra</i>	Dealer in-candied- sugar
58 <i>Dhanushkāra</i>	Maker of bows	79 <i>Vdn jaka</i>	Merchant
59 <i>Sut avikrayi</i>	Thread-seller	80 <i>Kachakāra</i>	Cutte of crystal or glassmaker
60 <i>Shastrakarma k it</i>	Armourer	81 <i>Chatr kdra</i>	Umbrella maker
61 <i>K i qakā a,</i>	Betelnut seller	82 <i>Vedhakashodha ka</i>	Refiner
62 <i>Tambul ka</i>	Leaf seller	83 <i>Khandasansitha paka</i>	Maker of inla d work.
63 <i>Chitrambhagant</i>	Draftsman	84 <i>Tūmropayivi</i>	Coppersmith
64 <i>Charmakāra</i>	Currier	85 <i>Shre mahattara</i>	Chief-of a guild.
65 <i>Lohakāra</i>	Blacksmith	86 <i>Grāmughoshama hatta a</i>	Chief of the town herds
66 <i>Shaluk shalaya kartā</i>	Maker of-darts and javelins	87 <i>Shauluka</i>	Player (or lum bler)
67 <i>V i laghata</i>	Destroye -of poi sons	88 <i>Dyutavaltansika</i>	Dice player
68 <i>Bh tagrahar dhya</i>	Exorcist		
69 <i>Bdhanamoh Lit sak</i>	Physician for chil dren		

‘ Followers of each occupation it is added, ‘and all other dealers, in the city crowded together, except those who were sick, old, and young Brahmins, who were pure, versed in the Védas, and distinguished, thousands in number came along behind Bharata, who proceeded with his luggage loaded on bullocks. † To these Bráhmans he had given abundant largesses on the occasion of his having performed the first funeral obsequies (*shraddha*) of his

Probably f insi gth teeth

† For what use

† Rām 90 In the northern (Bombay edition, ii 83 to 161) the sm are of mnd for t n th n

In the list above-quoted there can be nothing more than an attempt to represent the occupations of the times of Rama, to which the poem is posterior. Whether or not it belonged to the poem in its original form, it is impossible to say. It shows an advanced state of society, as far as diversities of occupation are concerned. What is most worthy of notice in it is, that the professions which it enumerates are mentioned seemingly without any reference to the rank usually recognized in caste arrangements. Many of them, it is obvious must have belonged to the Aryan race.

The Rámayana mentions some of the aboriginal tribes of India with greater respect than that accorded to them in Manu. Rama in an early stage of his wanderings near the Ganges met “the virtuous Guhṛ, the beloved chief of the Nīshadas.” † The occurrence of the Nīshadas at this place seems to indicate that the progress of the Aryan race in the eastern country was still but limited. ‡ The forest tribes represented by Hanuman, Sugrīva, etc. were his great auxiliaries in his alleged journey to Lanka. The *Pathēras Shālas* (Saccæ Scythians) *Yavanas* (Iones or Greeks) *Kambojas Varānas* (Babaroī) *Haritas Kīrā*

* I am 11. 88 7

† गहमासाद्य धम्मात्मा निशदाविपत्ति । अथ ham 1 1 29 Bombay ed et
in 31 loc

1. 101. 1. mas intercourse with Gula see Kan n 2. Gou

us, and *Mlechchas* are spoken of as most valiant, though most impure peoples, in the narrative of the contests between Vāli htha and Vishvamitra in the first book. The *Chandalas* (the Gondaloi of Ptolemy*) are more than once mentioned as conveying defilement to those coming in contact with them. The sons, or disciples of Vasishtha, are represented as asking in opposition to Vishvamitra originally a Kshatriya how the gods can eat the sacrifice when it is offered by a Kshatriya officiating as a priest (*yajalā*) for a Chandala, and how Brahmans after eating the food of a Chandala can go to heaven purified by Vishvamitra †. Yet Rama is said to have called the chief of the twice born (the Brahmans) to kindle the fire of the Homa, to repeat mantras, to scatter the Kusha grass and to offer clarified butter to the fire on the occasion of the instalment on the throne of the monkey Bahi who did not recover from the wound of his arrow ‡.

The most extensive allusions to the provinces, tribes, and nations of India which the Ramáyana contains are made in the orders issued by Sugriva to his monkey-hosts to search for Sita after her abduction by Ravana. Connected with the East mention is made (in addition to that of mythical beings) of the Shukas, Pulindas, and Kalingas, of the Sambhars, Videhas, Kashyapashilas, Magadhas, Dandakulas, Vangas and Angas and of the Kuntas, the black-mouthed Puakas and Kaibukas. Connected with the South we noticed the Mchilas, Utkalas, Chedras, Dashanins.

* Ptol. Geo. vii.

† Ram. 59. 11. 13. See on this Muir's Texts, i. p. 102.

‡ Ram. iv. 2, 27, 28.

Kukurās, Antarvédas, the Bhojas, Pándyas, the Vidarbhas, Rishikas, Ashmakas, Pulindas, and Kalingas, the Aundras (Andhras ?), the Dravidas, Pundhas, Cholas, and Keralas Connected with the West reference is made to the Surashttras, Valhukas Bhadrās and Abhíras, the Suvíras Anhas, and Kolukas, the Kaikeyas, Sindhusauvías, Anarttas, the inhabitants of Maru* and Anumaru, the Shurábhíras, the Pahlavas, and the inhabitants of the Panchanada, Kashmir the city of Takshashíla, Shalaka, and the Shalvas Connected with the North, are mentioned the Matsyas, Pulindas, Shúrasénas, the Pracharas, the Bhadrakas, the Kurus and Madrakas, the Gandharas, the Yavanas, Shakas, Odras, Paradis, Vallukas, Pauravas, Kukkaras, Chinas, and Aparchínas, the Tukharas, Vairavas (or Barbaras), Kanbojas, and Daradas the Kiratas Tankanas, Bhadrās and Pashupalas, and the Uttara Kurus † The portion of the poem in which these names occur is probably one of its later sections

Rama on recovering his wife, and abandoning her from suspicion after she had passed through the ordeal of fire, and being inaugurated is made to give to the Brahmans "thousands of thousands of cows, hundreds of hundreds of bulls, 30,000,000 goldings, conveyances food, clothes, beds and couches, and very many villages" ‡

The Ramayana so interesting in a literary point of view ends with the glorification of the Brahmans, whose evaluation was ever in the view of its authors

* Also see in the Nirabhumi

† Ram. iv 40 41 42 44

‡ Ram. vi 112 84 f

2 The *Mahābhārata*, to which we now proceed, is a work of great size. It is generally spoken of as containing 100 000 stanzas, but this was certainly not its original bulk. The first printed edition [published at Calcutta] writes Professor H. H. Wilson, "contains 107,389 shlokas, but this comprizes the supplement called Harivansha, the stanzas of which are 16,374, and which is certainly not a part of the original Mahabharata."* In its first chapter it is represented as repeated by the Sauti (or Suta) Ugrashava, the son of Lomaharshana, to the Rishis of the Naimisha forest. It is attributed to Krishna Dvaipayana, or Vyasa ("the extender"), who is said to have comprehended it, in its first edition, in 24,000 stanzas, but without the Upakhyanas ('inferior narratives') devoted to the gods, pitris (ancestral manes), Gandharvas, and men, which when added raised it to 100,000†. It is said to have been communicated by Narada to the Gods, by Dévala to the Pitris, by Shuka to the Gandharvas, and by Vaisampayana, (who heard it from his master at a sacrifice of king Janamejaya, the disciple of Vyasa,) to Men. It is said of it that some Brahmans commence it with the word *Manu* some with *ástika*, and some with *upanichara*,‡. In all probability the editions of it have been numerous, episodes and interpolations having been added to it at various times, by Brahmanical agreement. Its name, according to some, means, "of-great-weight", and according to others, who are probably right in their opinion, "what-pertains-to-the-great-(king)-Bharata". Vyasa to

* Introduction to Johnson's Selections from the Mahābhārata

† Mahābh. i. 1. 101 (p. 4)

‡ Mahābh. i. 1. 52 (p. 8).

whom its original authorship is assigned, is said to have been the half brother of Vichitravírya (of the Lunar Race of kings) by whose widowed wives (Amba and Ambalika) he had 15 sons Pandu and Dhritarashtra * Pandu had five sons, called the Pándavas—Yuddhishtíra, Bhíma and Arjuna by his wife Pritha, and Níkula and Sahadeva by his wife Mádrí. Dhritarashtra had the parentage of a hundred sons ascribed to him, collectively called the Kauravas descended from king Kuru, of whom Duryodhana the eldest was the most distinguished. The subject of the poem of the Mahabharata is a war for sovereignty,—the possession of the throne of Hastinapura,—between the Pándavas and Kauravas, now mentioned.

The story of the “Mahabharata” is divided into eighteen Parvas or “Segments,”—the *Adi*, *Sabha*, *Vana*, *Virata*, *Udyoga*, *Bhishma*, *Drona*, *Karna*, *Shalya*, *Sauptika*, *Stri*, *Shanti*, *Anushashana*, *Ashvamedha*, *Ashtamavasika*, *Mausala*, *Mahaprasthana*, and *Svargarohana*,—to the general contents of which it is proper for us to allude, for the sake of marking the position of the information which they afford on the subject of caste.

(1) The *Adi* Parva (or Parvva) the Introductory Section, notices the general circumstances of the parties with whom the Great War originated. Pandu, “the Pale,” was, on account of his pallor (perhaps intimating as supposed by Professor H. H. Wilson a leprous taint)

* Krishna Dvaipayana is said to have been the son of the Sage Parashara by Satyawati before her marriage to Shantanu, the king of Hastinapura. Vichitravírya, the successor of Shantanu, dying without issue, Vyasa, according to the tradition of the times, raised up by

held incapable of succession to the throne. He consequently retired to the Himalaya mountains where his sons were born to him or (according to the legends) produced through his wives by various of the gods. On his death they were introduced, at Hastinapura to their uncle Dhritara h̥tra, who on being ultimately satisfied about their origin, took them under his care, and educated them with his own sons who treated them with jealousy and dislike, setting fire on one occasion to the house in which they resided with their mother Pritha. The Pandavas warned by this opposition, secreted themselves in the forests and disguised themselves as Brahmins. It was only when they heard of the *sayamara* (or the choice of a husband after public trial of capacity and prowess) of Draupadi the daughter of Drupada, king of Panchala in which they were successful, that they were again revealed in their own character.* It is curious to observe the alleged polyandry of their common wife, which is in accordance with customs still existing in Malabar and Travancor, the South west of India.

(2) In the *Sabha* or Court Parva various movements at Hastinapura are recorded. Dhritara-h̥tra, hearing of the success of the Pandavas sent for them, and divided the sovereignty between them and his sons, Yudhishtira and his brethren reigning at Indraprastha, and Dur-

* For a spirited poetical translation of the Passage of Arms, by Prof H. H. Wilson see Quart. Or Mag. March 1825. The passage of Arms was at Panchala, and not at Hastinapur as mentioned in the title of this translation.

yodhana and his brethren reigning at Hastinápura, at no great distance from one another Jealousies and strifes were the consequence of this arrangement Yudhishthira, aided by his brothers, brought many of the inferior princes of India under his sway He then engaged in celebrating the ceremonial of the Rajasuya—in establishment of his pre-eminence,—at which these princes did him obeisance The sons of Dhritarāshtra, disliking his honours, but feigning a wish to promote the amusement going on, challenged him to a game, resembling backgammon, at which he lost to Duryodhana his all—including his kingdom, wife, brothers, and himself These were again restored to him on the intercession of Dhritarāshtra, but, on a second adventure he incurred the penalty of passing, with his brothers and their common wife Draupadi, twelve years in the forests and an additional year in absolute obscurity with liability to renewal of the whole period in case of their discovery in this interval

(3) In the *Vana*, or Forest, Parva, we have an account of the incidents which befell the Pandavas in their banishment

(4) The *Virāta* Parva brings to notice the intercommunion of the Pandavas with Virāta, king of Matsyadesha, to whom they revealed themselves after the completion of the period of their exile, and whose assistance they secured to avenge their wrongs

(5) The *Udyoga* Parva, or Chapter of Endeavour, relates the preparations made by both sides for the terrible war which was to follow The assistance of king Kṛṣṇa, said to be an Avatara or Incarnation of Viṣṇu, was soli-

cited by both parties to whom he was related in blood. He gave Duryodhana the choice either of his own personal assistance, or of that of his army. His military force was preferred. In consequence of this he was left free to give himself to the Pandavas, to whose cause, as the story goes, and as the charioteer of Arjuna, he gave invaluable assistance, although he afterwards had his own difficulties in battle with Jarasandha and other foes.

(6) The *Bhishma* Parva derives its name from Bhishma, the son of Shantanu by Ganga, or the Ganges. He was the paternal uncle of Dhritarashtra, owing to whose blindness he acted as regent while his grand-nephews were under age. Though he did not approve of the conduct of Duryodhana to his cousins, he espoused the cause of the Kauravas. In the first series of battles to which the sixth parva is mainly devoted, he commanded the forces of Duryodhana. He was wounded in fight. Of the battles which took place under him and the generals by whom he was succeeded, it is correctly said, "Some of these are very Homeric but, in general, the interest of the narrative is injured by repetition, and the battles are spoiled by the introduction of supernatural weapons, which leaves little credit to the hero who vanquishes by their employment."*

7 The *Drona* Parva is named from Drona, the military preceptor of both the Kauravas and Pandavas, who succeeded Bhishma as commander of the forces of the Kauravas, and proved a most competent warrior.

* Prof H. H. Wilson's Preface to Johnson's Selections from the Mahabharata.

WHAT CASTE IS

Parva makes us acquainted with the same side of Karna said to be the son, and of Priti before her marriage the jealousy of his brethren who and which is assigned as the reason the cause of their adversities. He is king of Anga.

Parva gets its name from Shalya successor of Karna. It was when Uryodhana was killed by Bhishma in Gadas, or maces of a formidable

Parva, or Section of Sleep is named so made on the Paudava in the day owed much to Krishna their ally. Female, Parva is named from the males over the slain on both sides leaders of the war as nearly over.

It contains some passages showing and tenderness.

Parva is the section of Consolation.

A great deal of the Hindu teachings of kings and the means of their births, put into the mouth of Krishna in a place. It has evidently relations.

Ushana Parva or Section of Law, the speaker also being Bhishma principal listener being Yudhishtira are culled by tales and fables of custom.

(14) The *Ashvamedha* or Horse-sacrifice Parva, gives us an account of the great ceremonial of Yudhishtira, on his attaining to acknowledged sovereignty

(15) The *Ashvamedasika* Parva, or Section of the-Refuge, shows us Dhritarashtra, his wife Gandhari (the daughter of the king of Gandhara), and their companions retiring to a hermitage and there dying

16 The *Mausala* Parva, or Section of-the-Club, narrates the destruction of the race of Yadu of the Lunar line, including that of Krishna, one of its members, which was followed by the submergence of Dvarika, his ultimate capital

The denomination and contents of the two remaining books we mention in the words of Professor H H Wilson —

17 “The seventeenth Book called the *Mahaprasthanika* or Great-Journey witnesses the abdication of his hardly won throne, by Yudhishtira and the departure of himself his brothers and Draupadi to the Himalaya, on their way to the holy mount Meru. As they proceed the influence of former evil deeds proves fatal and each in succession drops dead by the way side, until Yudhishtira, and a dog that followed them from Hastinapura are the only survivors. Indra comes to convey the prince to Svarga, or Indra's heaven, but Yudhishtira refuses to go thither, unless

Admitted to that equal sky,
His faithful dog shall bear him company,

and Indra is obliged to comply

18 “The eighteenth Book the *Saugarohana* [the Departure-to-Heaven] introduces Yudhishtira in his bodily

form to heaven. To his great dismay he finds there Duryodhana and the other sons of Dhritarashtra, but sees none of his own friends, his brothers, or Draupadi. He demands to know where they are and refuses to stay in Svarga without them. A messenger of the gods is sent to show him where his friends are, and leads him to the fauces graveolentis Averni, where he encounters all sorts of disgusting and terrific objects. His first impression is to turn back but he is arrested by the wailings of well remembered voices imploring him to remain, as his presence has already alleviated their torture. He overcomes his repugnance and resolves to share the fate of his friends in health rather than abide with their enemy in heaven. This is his crowning trial. The gods come and applaud his disinterested virtue. All the horrors that had formerly beset his path, vanish and his friends and kindred are raised along with him to Svarga, where they become again the celestial personages that they originally were, and which they had ceased to be for a season, in order to descend along with Krishna in human forms amongst mankind and co-operate with him in relieving the world from the tyranny of those evil beings, who were oppressing the virtuous and propagating impiety in the characters of Duryodhana, his brothers, and their allies *

On the Harivansha, which is a supplement to the Mahabharata we do not at present say anything

In examining the Mahabharata in connexion with the subject of our inquiry, we find a very decided social and poetical exaltation of caste, some historical traces of the manner in which it acquired its ultimate establishment

* Preface to Johnson's Selections from the Mahabharata

and some curious theoretical speculations as to its origin. It is convenient to refer to it in the order of its books now mentioned

(1) In the first section we have an account of a struggle of the Bráhmans with the Kshatriyas which, though of a wild character, may be noticed as illustrative of the enmity which then mutual contests for supremacy during the rise of the caste system must often have generated. I insert the accurate abstract of it given by Mr. Muir — ‘There was a king named Kṛṣṇavīra, by whose liberality the Bhṛigus, learned in the Vedas, who officiated as his priests had been greatly enriched with corn and money. After he had gone to heaven, his descendants were in want of money, and came to beg for a supply from the Bhṛigus, of whose wealth they were aware. Some of the latter hid their money under ground, others bestowed it on Bráhmans, being afraid of the Kshatriyas while others again gave these last what they wanted. It happened, however, that a Kshatriya, while digging the ground, discovered the money concealed in the house of a Bhṛigu. The Kshatriyas then assembled and saw this treasure and slew in consequence, all the Bhṛigus, down to the children in the womb. The widows however, fled to the Himálaya mountains. One of them concealed her unborn child in her thigh. The Kshatriyas hearing of its existence sought to kill it, but it issued forth with a lustre which blinded the persecutors. They, now humbled supplicated the mother of the child for the restoration of their sight, but she referred them to her wonderful infant. Aúra (into whom the *Ug* of the Vedas, with its six Vedangas * had entered)

as the person who had robbed them of their sight, (in retaliation of the slaughter of his relatives), and who alone could restore it. They accordingly had recourse to him, and their eyesight was restored. Aurva, however, meditated the destruction of all living creatures, in revenge for the slaughter of the Bhrigus, but his progenitors (pitris) themselves appeared, and sought to turn him from his purpose by saying that they had no desire to be revenged on the Kshatriyas, 'whose violence the devout Bhrigus had not overlooked from weakness but had rather sought to provoke, by concealing their money, (for which in view of heaven, they cared nothing,) in order, when weary of life, to bring about their own destruction by the hands of those irritated warriors, that so they might be exalted the sooner to paradise. Destroy not the Kshatriyas. O son they concluded, nor the seven worlds, abandon your kindled wrath which nullifies the power of austerity. Aurva however argued against this clemency on grounds of justice and policy, and urged that his wrath if it found no other vent, would consume himself. He was, however, at length persuaded by the pitris to throw it into the sea where it found exercise in assailing the watery element — 'Having become the great Hrishiras, known to those who are acquainted with the Veda which vomits forth that fire, and drinks up the waters.' * This legend, the object of which is apparent appears in various other forms in the Mahābhārata and other works. The phosphorescence of the sea, seen when ships move along, is pointed to, even in the present day, as the flashings of the Aurvagni or submarine fire of Aurva.

* Mahābhārata I. v. 6802, et seq. Muir's Texts i. pp. 172

The celebration of the glory (mahatmya) of Brahman is said to be one of the objects of the Mahabharata itself*. Desiring the favour of Brahma and the Brahman it is said Vyasa formed the divisions of the Vedas, wherefore he is called Vyasa the Divider †

Without reference to the alleged origin of the castes from the bodily members of the divinity it is said that 'the known mental sons of Brahma are the six Maharishis Marichi, Atri, Angiras Pulastya Pulaha, and Kratu' ‡ From these Maharishis according to the context all created beings have sprung

Concerning the eight kinds of marriage prescribed in the Smṛiti—the Brahma Daiva, Arsha Prājapatya, Asura Gandharva Rakshasa and Paisacha it is said that the first four of them become the Brahman, the first six the Kshatriya the Rakshasa, a king, and the Paisacha the Vitas and Shudras §

The Brahman it is said 'is the chief of bipeds the cow is the highest of quadrupeds, the guru is the chief of those that are venerable, and a son is the chief of those that are delectable || Yet, in the context it is said that "The Kshatriya was created by the Brahma, and the Brahma was formed by the Kshatriya ¶ Perhaps in the latter clause the reference is to an allegation such as we find in the Chhandogya Upamhad, that Brahma, viewed in the Vedantic sense of the 'science-of soul,'

* M Ph i v 2316

† Ib v 2417

‡ Ib v 2518

§ Ib 2962 a

|| M Bh i 1011

¶ ससृष्टं ब्राह्मणं अत्र क्षत्रियं साहजम् Ib v 3677

particularly as connected with a future state originated with the Kshatriyas * Such an origination of this species of learning is by no means improbable the Kshatriyas ultimately being freer for speculation than the Brahmans engaged in the cumbersome and minute rites and ceremonies which they succeeded in monopolizing The credit given to the Kshatriyas in this matter was counter balanced by the subsequent progress of the Brahmans in this kind of learning He who is chief among the knowers-of-Brahma, is he who excels in the use of the weapons-of-Brahma For Drona, a Brahman, superiority even in valour was claimed †

In a passage, quoted by Mr Muir, "The Yavanas are said to be descended from Turvasu, the Vaibhojas from Druhyu, and the Mlechcha tribes from Anu ‡ Remarks

* The pre-eminence of the Kshatriya in the case of research as to soul is several times brought to notice in the Chhândogya Upanishad Mr Rajendralâl Mitra, in the introduction to his edition and translation of this ancient piece says (pp 25 & 6) In explaining these attributes of Om several anecdotes are related, in one of which (v 8) a Kshatriya takes precedence of two Brâhmins in explaining the subject of their discourse Similar precedence is given to the Kshatriyas in sections 3rd and 11th of the fifth chapter, and in the Katha and Vâhad Aranyaka Upanishads Nor does this precedence appear to be accidental Pravâhana, King of Panchala (ch v sect 8) goes the length of asserting that the knowledge of man's lot hereafter was first attained by his own caste In reply to a question from a Brâhmin he says Since you have thus inquired, and inasmuch as no Brahmin knew it before, hence of all people in the world the Kshatriyas alone have the right of imparting instruction on this subject

† M Bh. l. v 6379

‡ Muir, l. p. 178 M Bh. l. v 3533

this kind, however, are probably speculative for the
 nce, and not historical

The Rishi Vasishtha is (probably fictionally) associ-
 ed with the Bháratas as their family priest. He is
 presented as installing Samvarana as monarch of the
 shatrya race, to be a horn (of power) over the whole
 th, by the simple repetition of the syllable Om *

The co operative subordination of the four Castes is
 id to have been observed in the reign of Shantanu †
 The Nishádas found by the Pandavas and Kauravas, on
 ar going out to hunt, are said to have been so black in
 r skin and hair that the dogs began to bark at them,
 d to have been particularly keen in hearing ‡ This
 an indication of their long residence in India, and
 their comparatively uncivilized state

Suicide is declared to be less heinous than Brahmicide,
 * which there is no atonement (*nishkruti*) §

A curious legend is related at length to enhance the
 orth and might of the Brahman Vasishtha and to depre-
 ate his rival Vishvámitra, of whom we have already given
 ous notices. We take the following extracts of it from
 r Muir's Texts, adopting his excellent translation.
 Having gained this great and self-restraining personage '
 asishtha), it is said, "the Kings of Ikshvaku's race
 quired the dominion of the earth. Possessing this
 cellent Rishi, Vasishtha, for their priest, they offered
 crifice. This Brahman-rishi performed sacrificial rites
 all those monarchs, as Vrihaspati does for the immortals
 Therefore let some desirable Bráhman, endowed with

* M. Bh. i. 3731, sq. See on this, Muir, i. p. 135

† M. Bh. i. v. 3977-8

‡ Ib. v. 4249

§ M. Bh. i. v. 6227

good qualities, whose chief characteristic is religion, and who is skilled in Vedic observances, be selected as a family priest. Let a well-born Kshatriya, who wishes to subdue the earth, first appoint a priest in order to acquire dominion." The story goes on to speak of the cow of Vasishtha. Vishvamitra offered 'a hundred millions of cows, or his kingdom, as her price. His offer was rejected. He then said, 'He was a Kshatriya, and Vasishtha a Brahman, whose function was devotion and study, one of a class who were gentle and destitute of power,—and that as his offer was refused, he would act agreeably to the character of his caste, and take the cow by force. Vasishtha told him to do as he proposed without loss of time. Vishvamitra seized the cow, but she would not move from the hermitage, though violently beaten with whip and stick, and demanded of Vasishtha why he did not help her' *

In the same parva there occurs another legend connected with the parties now mentioned, in which some curious illustrations are given of Brahmanical demands and exactions. Vasishtha was the priest of king Kal mashapáda, son of Sudása of the race of Ikshvaku, an office desired also by Vishvamitra. The king, when out hunting, desired Shaktri, the eldest of Vasishtha's hundred sons to get out of the road. "The king must according to all the principles of law cede the path to the Brahman," was the reply. The king did not yield, but struck the Brahman with his whip. The Brahman, in return, laid a curse upon the king, that he should become a

The king was ultimately however about to give way, when Vishvamitra, who was passing

by, put a Rakshasa into him, who urged him to mischief. The king sent some human flesh to a poor Brahman, who also laid his curse upon him to the intent that he should become a man-eater. He consequently began his work by devouring all the children of Vasishtha, beginning with the oldest. Vasishtha attempted to destroy himself instead of destroying his rival Vishvámitra. 'This divine sage hurled himself from the summit of Meru, but fell upon the rocks as if on a heap of cotton. Escaping alive from his fall he entered a glowing fire in the forest, but the fire though fiercely blazing, not only failed to burn him, but seemed perfectly cool. He next threw himself into the sea with a heavy stone attached to his neck but was cast up by the waves on the dry land. He then went home to his hermitage, but seeing it empty and desolate, he was again overcome by grief, and binding himself with bonds he threw himself into the river Vipasha which was swollen by the rains, and was sweeping along many trees torn from its banks, but the river severing his bonds, deposited him unbound (Vipasha), whence the name of the stream, as imposed by the sage. He afterwards threw himself into the *Shatadru* (Sutlej), which derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Brahman brilliant as fire. In consequence of this he was once more straddled. After roaming about over many countries and forests, he again returned to his hermitage, and finding that his daughter-in-law Adrishyanti (Sakti's widow) was pregnant (with a child who, when born, received the name of Purushara), and that there was thus a hope of his lineage being continued he

abstained from further attempts on his own life. King Kalmashapada, whom they beheld in the forest, was about to devour them both when Vasishtha stopped him by a blast from his mouth, and sprinkling him with water, consecrated by a holy text he delivered him from the curse by which he had been affected for twelve years. The king then addressed Vasishtha thus 'Most excellent sage, I am Saudas, whose priest thou art. What can I do that would be pleasing to thee?' Vasishtha answered 'This which has happenet¹ has been owing to the force of destiny go and rule thy kingdom, but O monarch never contemn the Brahmans' The king replied 'never shall I despise the most excellent Brahmans, but submitting to thy commands, I shall pay them all honor' * In the Hindu literature there are other legends of a similar character about these personages, which it would contribute but little to our purpose here to notice in detail. The whole have originated in allusions in the Rig Veda to both Vasishtha and Vishvamitra having been family priests of king Sudasa, and at the same time having been very jealous of one another's influence and disposed to use their own power, and that of the gods whom they invoked, to do one another mischief. They testify merely to a struggle of the Brahmans with the Kshatriyas in the establishment of their priestly monopoly,†—a struggle, the grounds of which are obvious.

(2) In the *Sabha Parva* we find a chapter‡ which

* Muir's Texts, i 113 117 M Bh i v 6699 et seq

† See Texts of Mr Muir i 95 et seq., where the legends are painstakingly collected and compared and accurately

throws much light on the geography of ancient India, and of the spread of the Aryas and their institutions in this great country. It is entitled *Digvijaya* and treats of the conquest of the four quarters of the world by the brothers of Yudhishthira and of the gifts brought to him by the nations at the time of his Rajasuya, or coronation sacrifice. It has attracted much attention from European orientalists though from the state in which the text is found, it appears to have been much neglected by native Sanskrit scholars. It has been copiously illustrated both by Professor Lassen and the late Professor H. H. Wilson* as well as compared with other portions of the Mahabharata and of other literary works of the Hindus. The following findings are principally the results of the researches of Lassen. Two routes in advance offered themselves to the Aryans after their settlement in the Panchnada, or Panjab—one leading eastward in the direction of the Yamuna and Ganges and the other along the Sindhu to the ocean. The valleys of the rivers rising in the Himálaya also invited visitors and Kashmira became an ancient seat of the Brahmanic faith. The Daradas, contiguous to this region however, followed not this law being denominated Dasyus in Manu, as well as in the Mahabharata. When the Aryas reached the course of the Yamuna, they found the Vindhya range with its

* See Lassen's commentaries upon it in the first and second volumes of his *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, and in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* vol. i. p. 531 et seq. A translation of this portion of his invaluable work is given in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, for May and June 1857 and March and April 1862. For Professor Wilson's illustrations see his *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 179-197.

many offsets and forests. Following the principal streams they reached the Sarayu and the Kaushiki where their earlier capitals Ayodhya and Mithilá were founded. From Madhyadesha where they now were, the roads, in progress, went either across the Vindhya, or round it on both sides. Advances may also have been made by them to the west of the Aravali range, where, near the range itself, the country is not altogether barren. Suráshtra, mainly the peninsula of Gujarat appears as early as the Ramayana as an Aryan country. From Indraprastha on the Yamuná, a road ran to the Narmada river by way of Ujjayini, and another ran from the province of Magadha to the upper portions of the Narmada but as it passes through the wild country of the Gondas it would not be of much use to the Aryas.

The Kulindas of the western river-valleys of the Himalaya and the higher contiguous regions were, probably, at the time of the Mahábhárata, an Aryan nation, never being spoken of as Dasyus, though they must have had but little contact with the Aryan civilization. The regions contiguous to the western rivers may also be supposed to have been Aryan, as they were easily accessible to a spreading people. Eastward from the Upper Ganges the population was non Aryan, as were the Tanganas and Kirátas of the Sarayu valley. Vidéha and Mithila, under the Himalaya, appear, in the pilgrimages, as Aryan land. On the whole, in the time of the Mahabharata, the Aryan progress had not advanced farther to the east than we find it in the Ramayana. In other directions however that progress was very considerable. While in the Rámayana Anga was the most south-eastern Aryan land, we find in

the Mahábhárata, powerful kings of the Pundras, the king of Madagiri, of Banga, and of Tamralipta, and even the Suhmas on the sea-shore mentioned, while it tells us that the mouths of the Ganges were frequented by pilgrims. The Brahmanic law, propagated by the Gautamas, had by this time reached the five principal nations of eastern India—the Angas, Pundras, Bangas, Suhmas, and Kalingas. The river Vaitarani, in Kalinga, is even spoken of as a holy river. The worship of Shiva is said to have prevailed in its neighbourhood. This region was not all subjected to Brahmanism. The Odras, Dravidas and Andhras appear as non Aryan. In the Ramayana the hermitage of Agastya is placed in the north of the Upper Godavari in the Mahabharata it is said to have been found by the Pandavas at the mouth of that river. In the Mahábhárata, the tirthas of the Kumaris, or Virgins, is found at the southernmost promontory of India, still named from them Cape Comorin. The hermitages of the teachers of the Dakhan moved south with the Aryan settlements. A hermitage is spoken of as being at Gokarna on the western coast. Prabhása was also there the locality of a Brahmanical institution, but further to the north possibly in the British Konkan.* Shurparaka was a tirtha both on the western and eastern sea, in the latter case near the mouths of the Krishna.

No tirthas being mentioned as in the interior of the Dakhan we may conclude that at the time of the Mahabharata it was but little affected by Brahmanism. Mahishmati in the Maisur, furnishes auxiliaries, however,

* So, Lassen. The Brahmans of Suráshtra place it at the S. W. corner of the Gujarát Peninsula.

to the Kurus through its king Nila. In connexion with it, Agni is represented as granting unlimited liberty to the women of that land in the choice of a plurality of husbands, as among the well known Nairs of Malabar to the present time. The more southern part of the Dakhan is treated as a country but little known, and there the Dig-Vijaya places the fabulous nations—the one-footed, the black-faced, etc. The known nations of the south are principally situated on the coasts, as the Keralas, Pandyas, Dravidas, Odras, and Kalingas. Vibhishana, the brother of Ravana, is spoken of as in Lanká.

The Pavoshní, the river of-hot water, of which a synonym of corresponding meaning was the Tapti, was at the period to which these notices refer rich in its Brahmanical tirthas*. Vidarbha, hodie Berar, and Khandésh, were to a certain extent Aryan though many wild tribes must then, as well as at present, have been residing within their borders. The Godavari and Bhimarathí were praised as holy rivers. Of the affluents of the Godavari however, only the Vénva is mentioned. The Narvani is the frontier of the holy land in the direction of the Dakshinapatha, now corresponding with the Dakhan. If we sum up these inquiries says Professor Lassen, “we perceive a considerable progress in the propagation of the Aryan religion and dominion towards the south when compared with the state of things portrayed in the Ramáyana. The Brahmanic cultus had spread from Sráshra to Gokarna on the eastern coast not only as far as the mouths of the Ganges but as far as those of

* It was perhaps from these settlements, sacred to Agni the god of fire, that it received its name.

the Godavari, and even beyond them, the kings of Kalin-
ga and Manipura obeyed the laws of the Aryan war-
riors. In the interior, in the south of India, we find no
more the solitary hermitages of the Ramáyana, but the
banks of the Payoshni, of the Pravéni, and of the Godá-
vari are studded with numerous seats of penitents, while
the Aryan kings reign already in the countries to the
south of the great mountains of separation, which are even
traversed by caravans. Deeper in the south, however,
the country is yet non Aryan, with the exception of one
single region that of the Máhishikas, and this, although
accepting Brahmans and their cultus, still preserves its
peculiar Dakhan customs. The people of the southern
most Dakhan and Ceylon have entered into intercourse
with the inhabitants of the North, and have become known
to them by the products of their countries. Although
the conjecture that this connexion took place by sea is
not confirmed by the Epos, we possess for it the weightier
testimony of the Vedas, that the Aryan Indians prose-
cuted navigation and undertook voyages because the
Ashvins are praised for exhibiting their power by protect-
ing the hundred-oared ship of Bhujyu on the immeasurable
bottomless sea and bringing it fortunately to the shore.

The Mahabharata affords also instructive hints on the
manner of the Aryan propagation. No Aryan empire is
mentioned on the west coast to the south of Suráshtra. The
hermitages however, of the Brahmans, and the seats of
the Gods extend as far as Gokarna, and thus far
pilgrimages were undertaken. But no Aryan nation is
mentioned. Gokarna is now the southern limit of the
domain of the Sanskrit tongue. At the time of Ptolemy,

this coast and the interior country above it, was called Aryaka, and hence it must have been occupied by Aryans. Consequently the immigration of the Aryans into this part took place later than the time of the Pandavas, and the Bráhmans appear here only as the precursors of Aryan possession. The same holds good also of the valley of the Payoshní in which, also, only seats of the Brahmanas are mentioned, and the King of Vidarbha is not represented to us as a conqueror, but as a founder of a Brahmanical state. Consequently the Marathas also immigrated after the heroic time. Baglana and the country near the sources of the Godavari, i.e. the first seats of the Marathas upon the high land, were not yet visited by the Pandavas. It is still plainer handed down by the mythus, that in Mahishmati, the Brahmanas introduced their cultus themselves without the assistance of warriors, and by this also the conjecture is confirmed, that the south of India was gained over to Aryan civilization not by forced conversions, but by means of peaceable missions of Brahmanas. For this we have also the confirmation of Ptolemy, who mentions a race of Bráhmans in southernmost India on the Arabian gulf.*

On the names of peoples and countries occurring in the Dig-Vijaya much light has been cast not only by Professor Lassen but by Professor H. H. Wilson, but it is not necessary for us to extend our notices of this and similar portions of the Mahabharata.

The carrying on of war, at all hazards of life, is declared to be the duty of the Kshatriya †

(3) In the *Vana Parva*, after it is again stated that

* Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 1 pp. 576-78

† M. Bh. II v. 1951

the Brahma was formed by the Kshatra and the Kshatriya by the Brahma, the necessity of a Kshatra having a Bráhmaṇ for instruction and advice is very emphatically set forth. Without an arrangement of this kind any nation or people it is said, will go to destruction. The power of the Brahman and Kshatriya united together are as fire and wind in the consumption of the forest—irresistible.*

With reference doubtless to the early settlement of the Aryans near the Sarasvatí, it is said, "They who dwell to the south of the Sarasvatí and to the north of the Dīśadvatí dwell in heaven, adding that the district is known by the name of the very holy Brahmakshetra. Onwards it is said that the disappearance (in the sands) of the Sarasvatí takes place from its reaching the borders of the Nishádas (viewed as impure). "Here is this delightful, divine and fluent river the Sarasvatí. O King of men, (here is) what is called the *Vináshana* (the disappearance) of the Sarasvatí, on account of the fault (*dosha*) of the commencement of the region of the Nishádas, the Sarasvatí entered the earth'†

The story of Parshurama and the Kshatriyas is related in this parva with great particularity. The following accurate notice of the legend is by Mr Muir —

Arjun son of Kṛitavírya and King of the Haihayas had, we are told, twenty one hundred arms. He rode in a chariot of gold, the march of which was irresistible. He thus trod down gods, yakshas and rishis, and oppressed all creatures. The gods and rishis applied to Vishnu and he along with Indra, who had been insulted by Arjuna, devised the means of destroying the latter. About this time, the story goes on there lived a king of Kányakubja called Gadhi who had a daughter named Satyavatí. The marriage of this princess to the rishi Richika and the birth of Jamadagni are then told in the same way as

* M Bh iii v 975 983

† M Bh iii v 5074 Ib v 10538

above narrated in p 85 * Jamadagni and Satyawatī had five sons the youngest of whom was the redoubtable Parshurāma By his father's command he kills his mother (in whom her husband had detected some inward defilement), after the four elder sons had refused this matricidal office, and had in consequence been deprived of reason by their father's curse At Parshurāma's desire, however his mother is restored by his father to life, and his brothers to reason, and he himself is absolved from all the guilt of murder His history now begins to be connected with that of King Arjuna (or Kārtavīrya) The latter had come to Jamadagni's hermitage, and had been respectfully received but he had requited this honour by carrying away by force the calf of the sage's sacrificial cow and breaking down his lofty trees On being informed of this violence, Parshurāma was filled with indignation, attacked and slew Arjuna, and cut off his arms (which according to this version were a thousand in number) Arjuna's sons in return slew the sage Jamadagni, in the absence of Parshurāma The latter vowed to destroy the whole Kshatriya race and executed his threat by killing first Arjuna's sons and their followers 'Twenty one times it is said he swept away all Kshatriyas from the earth, and formed five lakes of blood in Samantapanchaka, in which he satiated the manes of the Bhṛigus He then performed a grand sacrifice to Indra, and gave the earth to the officiating priests He bestowed also a golden altar on the sage Kashyapa This, by his permission, the Brūhmans divided among themselves, deriving thence the name of Khān avayanas Having given away the earth to Kashyapa Parshurāma himself dwells on the mountain Mahēndra Thus did enmity arise between him and the Kshatriyas, and thus was the earth conquered by Rama of boundless might' †

This legend, which occurs in other forms elsewhere may have arisen from a very small beginning to which we have already referred ‡ The only historical fact on which it can be founded is that there were olden quarrels

* See p 237-8 of this work

† Muir's Texts, i pp 106-7 M Bh ii v 11070 et seq

‡ See before, p 148

about prerogative between Bráhmans and Kshatriyas. Its intended lesson is the danger of Kshatriyas trifling with Brahmins.

In connexion with a description of the first age, put into the mouth of Hanuman, it is mentioned that Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shúdras strictly observed the institutes of their own castes * This representation was intended as a hint for the present. In the context, sacrificing (for one's self), giving of gifts, learning the Védas, are said to be common to the three twice born castes, while sacrificing for others and teaching, and taking alms belong to the Bráhmans,—protection (*pálana*) being the duty of the Kshatriyas, supporting (*poshana*) that of the Vaishyas, and service (*shushrúshá*) that of the Shúdras.†

The King Nahusha the son of Ayus, and grandson of Pururavas mentioned in the Vedas, (who is represented, in the first parva‡ as forcing even the Rishis to pay him tribute, and to carry him upon their shoulders, in a palanquin,) is represented as found by Yudhishthira as a serpent, into which state he had been brought by the curse of one of them, Agastya Muni, whom he had touched with his foot. He is made to bewail his pride and to ask deliverance from Yudhishthira, whose name had been given as his saviour by the Muni, on his begging his pardon. It is added that Yudhishthira gave him a celestial form in which he ascended to heaven. The curse and its limitation were of course both from the Bráhman §

* M. Bh. iii. v. 11241

† Ib. iii. v. 11298 et seq.

‡ Ib. i. v. 8151 et seq.

§ M. Bh. iii. v. 12408 et seq. Muir's Texts, i. 68-9

In the course of the alleged conversation between Yudhiṣṭhira and the Serpent now referred to, some of the principles of caste as affected by the progress of Indian society, are curiously brought forward

“The Serpent says Who, O king Yudhiṣṭhira, is the Brahman and what is Knowledge? Declare your high judgment (in the case) I make inquiry of thee Yudhiṣṭhira says He in whom are seen truth, liberality forgiveness, virtue, innocence, austere devotion, and compassion, he O king of Nagas, is according to the Smṛiti a Brahman Knowledge, O Serpent, is Parabrahma, without pain without pleasure, whither upon having gone they have no grief, what more do you wish to be known? The Serpent replies The establishment of the four castes is with proof (authorized) and Brahma is also true But even in Shudras, O Yudhiṣṭhira, are truth, liberality, wrathlessness, innocence, abstinence from killing, compassion (the) knowledge (of Brahma?) is also without pain or pleasure, O Lord of men, and without these (sensations) there is no other thing but Knowledge Yudhiṣṭhira says When in a Shudra there is a mark of virtue, and it is not in a Dāśya, the Shudra is not a Shudra and the Brahman is not a Brahman The person in whom that mark of virtue is seen, O Serpent, is a Brahman, and the person in whom it is not seen is a Shudra” * The conversation is continued (I here avail myself of Mr. Muir’s translation of it) “The Serpent said If you regard him only as a Brahman whom his conduct makes such then caste is of no avail until deeds are superadded to it Yudhiṣṭhira replies

O most sapient Serpent, the caste of mankind is difficult to determine, owing to the general confusion of classes. Men of all castes are continually begetting children on women of all castes—the speech, the mode of propagation, the birth, the death, of all men are alike. This also is established by the word of *ri-his*, and is authoritative—
 ‘We who sacrifice, etc. Hence those who have insight into reality consider virtuous character to be the thing mainly to be desired. The natal rites of a male are enjoined to be performed before the section of the umbilical cord [See *Manu* ii 29]. Then *Savitri* (the *Gáyatrí*, *Manu*, ii 77), becomes his mother, and the religious teacher his father [*Manu* ii 170, 225]. He is on a level with a *Shudra* till he is born in the *Véda*. [*Manu*, ii 172] In this division of opinions *Manu Swayambhuva* hath so declared. Again, though the prescribed ceremonies have been fulfilled? Yet, if good conduct is not superadded there is considered to be, in that case a great confusion of castes. I have before declared him to be a *Brahman* who aims at purity of conduct.”* There is something here like a statement of certain Buddhist objections to Caste, though with but a feeble reply to them.

An account of the Deluge, much extended, and different from that of the *Shatapatha Brahmana* which we have introduced into a former part of this work,† is given in the *parva* under notice. It differs from that which we have quoted, in this among other respects, that it does not mention the original residence of *Manu* ‡

* *Muir's Texts*, i 197

† See, before, p 167 et seq

‡ *M. Bh* iii 12751, et seq. The passage has been extracted and translated by Mr *Muir* in his *Texts*, ii. 331 2

The glory of the Brahman is emphatically set forth in the following instructions given to Yudhiṣṭhira by the Rishi Markandéya, particularly in their conclusion —“The person possessed of these three purities—purity of speech, purity of conduct, and purity by water (ablution)—is worthy of heaven, of this there is no doubt. The Bráhmaṇ who performs *Sandhyá* morning and evening, repeating the holy, divine *gáyatrī*, the mother of the Védas, that Bráhmaṇ becomes by this divine (object) free from sin (*nashta-kulvishah*). He is not to grieve for being a receiver of gifts, even though of the earth and ocean (that is of the whole world). Whatever planets, as the sun in the heavens, etc., may be fearful to him, they become to him prosperous, and more and more prosperous for aye. Pursuing evil devils (*pishitáshunáh*),* of horrible form and great bulk, do not ill-treat the Brahman. From teaching, sacrificing, and taking gifts from others (whatever errors may occur?) there is no fault, as Brahmans are like the blazing fire (which consumes everything). Whether ill-instructed or well-instructed, whether vulgar or refined, Brahmans are not to be disregarded, being as fire concealed in ashes. As kindled fire in the burning-ground (for the dead) is without fault, so the Bráhmaṇ learned or unlearned is a great deity”†

Even the Rákshasa Vibhishana, is made to utter respect for the Bráhmans, by declining to use their instrument

* Literally, flesh-eaters

† M. Bh. III. vv. 13431-13438. The following is the Sanskrit of the two last Shlokas of this passage —

दुर्वेदा ना सुवेदा ना प्राकृताः ।

।

इवाग्नयः ।

(that of prayer) while his brother Rávana was beseeching Bīṣma to make him invisible to his foes *

(4) In the *Viráṭa* Parva, we have the distribution of work for the four castes respectively mentioned, as by 'Svayambhuva' (Manu), a proof that this portion of the work at least is posterior to that Code †

(5) In the *Udyoga* Parva there is a repetition, with variations, of the story of the haughty king Nahusha evidently again brought forward to show the danger of ill-treating the Brahmins ‡

(6) In the *Bhīṣma* Parva occurs the well known Bhagavad-Gita, or Song-of God, containing the discourse between Kṛishna and Arjuna, in which the latter party relates his humane scruples about going into battle when the crisis of the great war occurred, and the former gives a reply, which, to use the words of Mr Milman, breathes 'the terrible sublime of pantheistic fatalism § The system of philosophy on which this remarkable episode is, in the main, founded, is that of the *Yoga of Pantanjali*, in which liberation from further births, and absorption into the divine Spirit, (the great objects of desire according to Hindu speculation), are made dependent on the knowledge of Spirit and the practice of contemplative and ascetic devotion, so far as indifference to pleasure and pain and the suppression of emotional action are concerned. It is not altogether consistent or homogeneous

* M Bh iii 13913 Mur, ii 433

† M Bh iv 1457 So also in vv 830-35, 1550-61 v 3454 et seq, &c See Mur i pp 69 73

‡ M Bh v v 345, et seq

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throughout, and as pointed out by William de Humboldt, who viewed it as an important contribution to philosophy, has itself been probably the subject of additions and interpolations, from various hands * Notwithstanding its speculative character, it professes to show respect to what may be called the Hindu institutes Its notices of Caste are very scanty The existence of the mixed classes (*Vaiśya-sankhara*) it traces to vicious women † It is probable that at the time it was composed, all illegitimate children were reckoned to belong to the mixed castes, which, in the first instance, had originated from the division of labour Fighting it represents as the supreme duty of the Kshatriya ‡ Probably with secessions to Buddhism, more than secessions from Caste, in view, but applicable to both, it sets forth the general aphorism — ‘One’s own religion, though worthless, is better than the religion of another however well instituted (or followed), one’s own religion is profitable at death, while that of another beareth fear” § It represents Krishna (as the Supreme) saying “They who are of the womb-of-sin, women, Vaishyas and Shudras shall go the supreme journey if they take refuge with me, how much more my holy worshippers, the Brahmans, and the Rajarshis || In connexion with its notices of the three qualities of truth (*satya*), passion (*raja*), and darkness

* For a translation of Humboldt’s Essay, by the late Rev G H Weigle see a valuable edition of the Bhagavad Gita in Sanskrit, Chinese, and English, published by the Rev J Garrett at Bangalore, 1849

† स्त्रीषु दुष्टासु वाणिज्य जायते वयसकृत् M Bh vi v 872

‡ M Bh vi v 909

§ M Bh vi v 908

|| M B vi 1203 1

(*tama*), it says, that, "The sacrifice which is performed without the ordained rites, without the distribution of food, without the mantras, without dakṣiṇá and without faith is of the quality of darkness * The respective duties and qualities of the Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya it declares in the usual form as already given by us on its authority †

(7) In the *Drona Parva* the Shúdras along with other peoples near the Indus, are mentioned as a people,‡ as in the *Dig-vijaya*—a position consistent with that which we have supposed to have originally belonged to them §

(8) In the *Karna Parva* it is mentioned that in the appointment of Karna to succeed Drona as general Brahmanas Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras were unanimous (*sammatah*) ||

In the same section the following passage occurs—"The Brahmanas, according to the Smṛiti were created by Brahma from his mouth, the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaishya from his thighs, and the Shudras from his feet. Other distinctions of caste called *Pratiloma* and *Anuloma* were produced from them ¶ This O king was from intercourse with strange females (those not belonging to one's own caste). The *Kshatriyas* according to the Smṛiti, are protectors, collectors (of tribute) and givers-of-burgesses. Sacrificing for others teaching, and taking pure alms, belong to the *Bráhmans*. Brahmanas are established on the earth for the advantage of the people. The *Vaishyas* are in duty

* M Bh vi v 1439

+ See before pp 20 38 40

† M Bh vii 183-4

§ See before, p. 111

|| M Bh viii 890

¶ See before, p. 68

obligated to agriculture, keeping of cattle, and liberality. The *Shūdras* are appointed servants to the *Brahma*, *Kshatriya* and *Visha*. The *Sūtas* are appointed servants of the *Brahma* and *Kshatriya*. It is not heard (never enjoined) that a *Kshatriya* should be a servant to a *Sūta*. I, a *Mud-dhābhishikta*, (Shalya is addressing Duryodhana) who am born of a *Rajaishi* family. O king, and who am addressed as a *Maharatha*, am to be served and praised by *Bandis*. I who am, as above signified. O king, do not wish to be the charioteer of a *Sataputia*. "Having got so dishonoured, I will certainly not fight. Having asked (leave) of you, O son of Gandhari I take my departure to my own home."* Duryodhana afterwards reminds Shalya, that a charioteer may be superior to the person driven (as was exemplified in the case of Krishna and Arjuna)† All this is in consistency with the orthodox view of Caste, as found in Manu and elsewhere ‡

In the context of the passages now referred to, much is said of the impurity of the *Madrakas*, and *Gandhāris* whose king was Shalya § Of the adjoining territories of the *Bāhikas*, the neighbours of the *Madras* a most curious account is given, in a passage thus summarily translated by Professor H. H. Wilson —

"An old and excellent Brāhman reviling the countries *Bahika* and *Madra* in the dwelling of *Dhritarashtra*, related facts long known and thus described those nations. External to the *Himāvan*, and beyond the *Ganges*, beyond the *Sarasvati* and *Yamunā* rivers and *Kurukshetra* between five rivers and the *Sindhu* as the sixth, are situated the *Bahikas*, devoid of ritual or observance and therefore to be shunned

* M. Bh. viii v 1867 et seq

† M. Bh. viii v 1641

‡ See before, p 53 et seq

§ M. Bh. viii 1837, et seq

Their fig-tree is named Govardhana (i.e. the place of cow killing), their market place is Subhadram, (the place of vending liquor at least so say the commentators), and these give titles to the doorway of the royal palace. A business of great importance compelled me to dwell amongst the Bāhikas and their customs are therefore well known to me. The chief city is called Shākāla and the river Apagā. The people are also named Jaritukas, and their customs are shameful. They drink spirits made from sugar and grain, and eat meat seasoned with garlic and live on flesh and wine. Their women intoxicated appear in public places, with no other garb than garlands and perfumes, dancing and singing and vociferating indecencies in tones more harsh than those of the camel or the ass. They indulge in promiscuous intercourse and are under no restraint. They clothe themselves in skins and blankets and sound the cymbal and drum and conch and cry aloud with hoarse voices. 'We will hasten to delight, in thick forests and in pleasant places, we will feast and sport and gathering on the high ways spring upon the travellers and spoil, and scourge them. In Shākāla, a female demon (a Rākshasi) on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight sings aloud 'I will feast on the flesh of kine, and quaff the intoxicating spirit attended by fair and graceful females. The Shudra-like Bāhikas have no institutes nor sacrifices, and neither deities, manes, nor Brahmins accept their offerings. They eat out of wooden or earthen plates, nor heed their being smeared with wine or viands or loked by dogs, and they use equally in its various preparations the milk of ewes, of camels and of asses. Who that has drank milk in the city Yugandhara can hope to enter Svarga? Bahi and Hika were the names of two fiends in the Vipāshā river: the Bāhikas are their descendants and not of the creation of Brahmā. Some say the Arattas are the name of the people and Bāhika of the waters. The Vedas are not known there, nor oblation nor sacrifice and the gods will not partake their food. The Prasthalas (perhaps borderers) Madras, Gandharas, Arattas, Khashas, Vasas, Atimādhvas (or those beyond the Indus) Sauvirs are all equally in famous. There one who is by birth a Brāhman, becomes a Kshatriya, or a Vaishya, or a Shudra, or a Barber, and having been a barber becomes a Brahman again. A virtuous woman was once violated by Aratta ruffians, and she cursed the race and their women have ever since been unchaste. On this account their heirs are their sister's children, not

their own. All countries have their laws and gods: the Yavanas are wise, and pre-eminently brave; the Mléchchas observe their own ritual; but the *Madra* are worthless. *Madra* is the ordure of the earth: it is the region of ebriety, unchastity, robbery and murder: fie on the Panchanada people! fie on the Aratta race!*

From this it is evident that if ever the Madras and Bahikas (or Vāhikas) were under Aryan influence, they had contrived to make their escape from it at the period here represented. Some of the Caste customs of the Aryas are here revealed by our turning the vices charged by the narrator into virtues.

(9) In the *Shalya* Parva there are several stories setting forth the struggles of Vishvāmitra to attain Brahmanhood†. Their intended lesson is like that pertaining to this matter found elsewhere—The Brāhmanhood, after the formation of the first of the race of the head-born, was held to be a privilege of birth, except when superhuman efforts were made by the favour of the gods to obtain its advantages.

(10) In the *Sauptika* Parva, Ashvathamā, the son of Drona, a Brāhman, apologizes for his knowledge of war and the affairs of the Kshatriyas by pleading his own poverty: the sole cause of his abandonment of Brahmanical works‡. Poverty is a great plea for remissness in caste observances even at the present day.

(11) In the *Strī* Parva, we find nothing bearing on Caste. The writers and framers of the Mahabharata have

* M. Bh. viii. 2026, et seq. Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. pp. 108-9.

† M. Bh. ix. v. 2265 et seq. v. 2307, et seq. These passages are translated in Muir's Texts: pp. 200-1, 202-204.

‡ M. Bh. ix. v. 122-5.

refrained from discussing any of the questions raised respecting it with mourning women

(12) In the *Shanti* Parva, Arjuna teaches that death in battle is better than all sacrifices for a Kshatriya

In the *Rajadharmánushasana* section of this division of the Bharata there is much said on the religion and duty of kings, corresponding with what we find in the Law books *

The legendry respecting Parashurama and the alleged destruction of the Kshatriyas here appears in a very advanced and extended form The following is an abridgement of what is found respecting it in Mr Muir's Texts —

'Jamadagni was father of Parashurama, ' who became perfect in all science thoroughly versed in archery, and the slayer of the Kshatriyas, himself violent as flaming fire By propitiating Mahadéva he obtained among other things the irresistible axe, (*parashu*) from which his name is derived Arjuna, son of Kritavirya, king of the Haihayas, is here represented as a dutiful and religious monarch who at an Ashvamedha (horse-sacrifice) bestowed on the Bráhmans the earth with its seven continents and mountains, which he had conquered with his thousand arms He had, however been cursed by the sage Apava (Vasishtha) to have those arms cut off by Parashuráma. Being of a meek, pious kind, and charitable turn of mind, the valiant Arjuna thought nothing of the curse, but his sons, who were of a barbarous disposition, became the cause of his death Unknown to their father, they took away Jamadagni's calf, and, in consequence Parashurama attacked Arjuna, and cut off his arms His sons retaliated by killing Jamadagni Parashuráma having vowed in consequence to sweep away all Kshatriyas from the earth seized his weapons, and slaughtering the sons and grandsons of Arjuna, with thousands of the Haihayas, he cleared the earth of Kshatriyas, and converted it into a mass of ensanguined mud. Then, being penetrated by deep compassion, he went to the forest After thousands of years had elapsed he was

* See before pp 37 44

taunted by Purávasu, the grandson of Vishvámitra, with having failed to fulfil his threat and vainly boasted in public of having killed all the Kshatriyas, (as many of that tribe were there present) and with having withdrawn from fear while the earth had again become overrun by them the Kshatriyas who had before been spared had now grown powerful kings. These however being stung by Paravasus taunt, Parashuráma now slew, with their children, and all the yet unborn infants as they came into the world. Some, however were preserved by their mothers. Having twenty one times cleared the earth of Kshatriyas he gave her as a sacrificial fee † Kashhyapa at the conclusion of the Ashvamedha. Kashyapa, making a signal with his hand, in which he held the sacrificial ladle that the remaining Kshatriyas should be spared, sent away Parashuráma to the shore of the southern ocean. Having received dominion over the earth, Kashyapa made it an abode of Bráhmans, and himself withdrew to the forests. Shudras and Vaishyas then began to act lawlessly towards the wives of the Brahmins, and in consequence of there being no government, the weak were oppressed by the strong and no one was master of his property. The earth being distressed by the wicked, in consequence of that disorder descended to the lower regions etc. This goddess earth then supplicated Kashyapa for protection and for a king. She had, she said, preserved among the females many Kshatriyas who had been born in the race of the Haihayas, and whom she desired for her protectors. Among these are mentioned Sárvakarmá, the son of Saudása 'whom the tender hearted priest Paráshara had saved performing, though a Bráhman all menial offices, (*Sarvakarman*) for him like a Shudra,—whence the prince's name. 'All these kshatriyas' descendants have been preserved in different places. If they protect me I shall continue unshaken. Then fathers and grandfathers were slain on my account by Ráma, energetic in action. It is incumbent on me to avenge their cause. For I do not desire to be always protected by an extraordinary person [? such as Kashyapa?] but I will be content with an ordinary ruler (?). Let this be speedily fulfilled.' Kashyapa then sent for these Kshatriyas who had been pointed out by the earth and installed them in the kingly office."

This legendry, as we have already hinted,* may have had but a very slender beginning. For its extension there may have been a strong motive at the time it assumed the form now given. This motive, I venture to think, was the disparagement of the Kshatriyas at the time when the Buddhist faith, patronized by the Kshatriyas, began to prevail. But this matter we may afterwards notice.

Prithu, (the son of Véna, mentioned as a refractory king by Manu†), is represented in the Parva before us as very respectful to the chief of the twice-born. 'In thought deed, and word it was enjoined upon him, take on thyself and constantly renew the engagement (*pratijna*) to uphold the earthly Brahma (Védic services). And promise that thou wilt exempt the Bráhmans from punishment and preserve society from the confusion of castes. The son of Vena then addressed the gods headed by the Rishis. 'The illustrious Bráhmans the chief of men, shall be venerated by me'‡. In this veneration much moral excellence was concentrated according to Brahmanical notions. In the context, a fanciful derivation of the name *Kshatriya* is thus given — 'The Kshatriya is so called from saving the Brahmans from *Kshata* (hurt) §

Long discussions are carried on between Bhíṣhma and

* See before p 148

† Manu vii 4

‡ M Bh xii v 2221 et seq

§ ब्राह्मणानां क्षत्रजाणाञ्च क्षत्रिय उच्यते M Bh xii v 2247 *Kshatriya* really means power and *Kshatriya* "a possessor of power. See before p 108

Yudhishthira on the subject of Caste, in which the exaltation of the Brahman, his four ashramas and his six works are specified in the usual form, while it is said that the Kshatriyas are to exercise their power in subordination to and with the advice of the Bráhmans

In connexion with the matters now referred to, some light is cast by the following passage (translated by Mr Mun) on the accommodations made by the Aryas with the *Dasyus*, when they were able to proselytize them. Bhishma repeats in it in a conversation alleged to have taken place between king Mandhata and Indra —

The Yavanas, Kratas, Gandháras, Chinas, Shavaras Varvaras, Sakas Tusháras, Kankas Pahlavas, Andhras, Madras, Paundras Pulindas Ramathas Kambojas men sprung from Bráhmans and from Kshatriyas persons of the Vaishya and Shudra castes— how shall these people of different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings like me prescribe for those who are living as *Dasyus*? Instruct me on these points, for thou [Indra] art the friend of our Kshatriya race. Indra answers. All the *Dasyus* should obey their parents their spiritual directors, and anchorites, and kings. It is also their duty to perform the ceremonies ordained in the Védas. They should sacrifice to the Pitris, construct wells buildings for the distribution of water, and resting places for travellers and should on proper occasions bestow gifts on the Bráhmans. They should practise innocence veracity, meekness purity and inoffensiveness should maintain their wives and familie and make a just division of property. Gifts should be distributed at all sacrifices by those who desire to prosper. All the *Dasyus* should offer costly *paka* oblations. Such duties as these which have been ordained of old, ought to be observed by all people. Mándhatá observes. In this world of men *Dasyus* are to be seen in all castes living under another garb even among men of the four orders (*ashramas*). Indra replies. 'When criminal justice has perished and the duties of Government are disregarded, and the people bewildered through the wickedness of their kings. When

hypocrites shall arise and the four orders become disorganized. Disregarding the excellent paths of ancient duty and impelled by passion and by anger, men shall fall into wickedness. *

Though this is certainly not one of the earlier portions of the Mahábhārata, it is possessed of importance as illustrating the method of bringing foreign tribes within the pale of Bráhmanism. The prophecy with which it concludes shows that it was written when the glory of that system of social life and religion was, in the Indian point of view, beginning to pass away. Curious matter is added to it respecting the evils which occur when Kshatriyas fail to discharge their duty of protection †. In the context, the orthodox view of the origin of the four primitive castes is put into the mouth of the god Vayu, who concludes by saying to Bhíṣhma, The Brahman was born immediately after the earth, the Lord of all creatures, to protect the treasury of religion. Therefore [the creator] constituted the Kshatriya the controller of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brahmá's ordinance that the Vaishya should sustain these three castes with money and corn, and that the Shúdras should serve them. The son of Ila [Pururavas] then enquires, tell me, Vayu, whose should the earth, with its wealth, rightfully be, the Brahman or the Kshatriyas? Vayu replies, Whatever exists in the world belongs to the Brahmans in right of primogeniture and headship ‡. Exhortations exhorting Brahmans and Kshatriyas to agree (with this recognition) follow §.

* Muir's Texts : p 180. M Bh. xii. v. 242^o.

† M Bh. xii. v. 2540, et seq.

‡ M Bh. xii. v. 2749 et seq. Muir's Texts pp 33 f.

§ M Bh. xii. v. 2803-2936 etc.

A detailed account is given of an alleged conversation between Vishvámitra and a Chandala about a proposal made by the sage to eat a dog's thigh in a season of famine. It was when this savoury dish was cooked and ready, that Vishvamitra by a heavy fall of rain was prevented from carrying his fully formed purpose into effect. The Chandala is represented as standing out against the use of the extraordinary meal*. *Manu* alludes to the legend† as an illustration of what may be lawfully done for the sustenance of life in times of difficulty‡. A Bráhmaṇ (Gautama) is represented as having assimilated himself to the Mlechchas (alias Dasyus, according to the notice), while dwelling among them on a begging excursion. He was recalled to duty, however, by another Brahman visitor §.

The following passage which I give as translated by Mr. *Moni*, contains a statement of the origin of Caste different from all which we have yet noticed, while at the same time it is more moderate than many of the Brahmannical teachings which have passed before our view.

‘*Brigu* speaks. *Brahma* thus formerly created the *Prajapatis* (*Brahmanas*) distinguished by his own energy and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness, devotion, eternal *Vedas*, virtuous practice and purity for [the attainment of] heaven. He also formed the *Devas*, *Danavas*, *Gandharvas*, *Danayas*, *Asuras*, *Mahoragas*, *Yakshas*, *Rakshasas*, *Nágas*, *Pishachas*, and men, *Brahmans*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas* and *Shudras* and other tribes [or castes] of living creatures. The colour [*varna* meaning primarily colour and afterwards caste] of the *Bráhmans* was white, that of the *Kshatriyas* red, that of the *Vaishyas* yellow, and that of the *Shudras* black.

* *M Bh xii v 5330-5420*

† *Manu x 108*

‡ *Manu x 108*

§ *M Bh vii v 6295 et seq*

Bhāradwaj here rejoins If the cast (*varna*) of the four castes is distinguished by their colour [*varna*], then we perceive in all the castes a confusion of caste [or colour] Desire, anger fear cupidity grief anxiety hunger, fatigue, prevail over all [*'sarvesham na prabhavati* the reading of the Calcutta edition can scarcely be correct] by what, then, is caste distinguished? [They have in common all] the bodily secretions with phlegm bile, and blood, and the bodies of them all decay by what then is caste distinguished? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary how is the class [or caste] of all these different classes of creatures determined?

Bhrigu replies there is no distinction of castes, this whole world is from [or is formed of] Brahmá for having been formerly created by him it became separated into castes in consequence of works Those red limbed Bráhmans [twice born] who were fond of sensual pleasure fiery, irascible prone to daring and who had forsaken their duties, fell into the condition of Kshatriyas. The yellow Bráhmans who derived their livelihood from cows, and agriculture, and did not practise their duties fell into the state of Vaishyas. The Bráhmans who were black, and had lost their purity, who were addicted to violence and lying, who were covetous and subsisted by all kinds of work, fell into the position of Shúdras Being thus separated by these their works the Brahman became of other castes Religious ceremonies and sacrifice have not been always forbidden to [all] these Thus these four castes, whose speech [*Saraswati*] is from Brahma [or Brahmanical?]* were formerly instituted by Brahma, but by their cupidity fell into ignorance Brahman are dependent on the Védas [*brahma*], their devotion does not perish, while they constantly maintain the Veda, its observances and rules The Veda [*brahma*] was created the chief of all things they who do not know it are not Bráhmans. Of these [of those who are not Bráhmans?] there are many other classes of different sorts in different place Pisháchas, Rakshasas, Prétas, various classes of Mlechhas, who have lost all knowledge sacred and profane and follow whatever observances they please Other creatures with the initiation of Brahman who have ascertained

*See Indische Studien vol ii 194 note where Dr. Weber regards this passage as indicating that at an early period of Indian history the Shúdras spoke the same language as the other castes

their proper duties are created by other Rishis through their own devotion. This creation proceeding from the primeval god having its root in Brahman, and unperishable is called the mental creation devoted to duty.

'Bharadvaja now enquires what constitutes a Bráhmaṇa a Kshatriya a Vaishya, or a Shúdra? tell me, O most eloquent of Brahmanical sages.

Brigu replies he who is pure consecrated by the natal and other initiatory ceremonies who duly studies the Vēda practises the six kinds of works, and the rites of purification, who eats of offerings is attached to his religious teacher is constant in austerities and is devoted to truth is called a Brahman. He in whom are seen truth liberality inoffensiveness, innocence modesty, compassion, and devotion—is declared to be a Bráhmaṇa. He who pursues the duties derived from the function of protection (*Kshatṛa*), who studies the Veda, and is addicted to giving and receiving—is called a Kshatriya. He who quickly enters among (?) cattle (this seems to be a play upon words to connect the word *Vaiśya* with the root *vis* to enter) is addicted to agriculture, and acquisition, who is pure and studies the Vedas,—is called a Vaishya. He who is unclean is addicted constantly to all kinds of food performs all kinds of works has abandoned the Veda and is destitute of pure observances—is called a Shúdra. And this is the mark of a Shudra and it is not found in a twice born man the Shúdra will be a Shudra, but the Brahman not a Brahman *.

The three Varnas, according to Parashura, are required to observe their respective works as often enjoined. A Shudra however may practise merchandise, the keeping of cattle masonry, playing, acting the selling of spirits and flesh, the selling of iron and leather. What is not agreeable to usage is not to be done †. It is evident from this that the Shudras by this time were not all in a state of slavery.

(13) In the *Anushāsana Parva* there are many notices of Caste as well as in the *Shanti Parva* now referred to

* Muir's Texts i 38-40 M Bh xii v (1930 et seq)

† M Bh xii v 10794 et seq

The Brahman (theoretically viewed) is said to be free of anger *

The question How did Vishvarūpa become a Brahman (without transmigrating into another body) is again put and answered. References are made to his reported austerities and exploits and it is said that Richika, the father of Shunahshepha, infused into him the Brahmanhood †

A Brahman though only ten years of age is fitted it is said to be a guru of a Kshatriya a hundred years old. The Brahman is the father, the Kshatriya the son. It is in lack of a Bráhmaṇa that a Kshatriya has sovereignty in the earth ‡

The Chándála according to the fictional system, is said to derive his birth from a Brahman mother and a barber father §

The entertainers of Cows and Brahmanas and the followers of truth need fear no evil || The females of the bovine race and the chief of the twice born are often mentioned together throughout the Mahábhárata as objects of religious veneration and attention

The law of inheritance as affecting the offspring of Bráhmaṇas by wives of different classes is thus in substance stated. The property of a Bráhmaṇa being divided into ten parts four of these fall to the offspring by a female

* M Bh xiii. 26

† M. Bh xiii v 260 See on the legends here recited, Munis Texts i. 111 112

‡ M Bh. xiii v 394 5 More occurs in the context about the pre-eminence of the Brahman

§ M Bh xiii v 1882

|| M Bh xiii 2035

Brahman, three, to that by a female Kshatriya, two, to that by a female Vaishya, and one to that by a Shúdra *

The origin of the Parashava, Ugra, Síta Vaidéhaka Maudgalya, Bandí, Magadha, Nisháda, Ayogava, Taksha, Sanandhra, Mádhuka, Madgura, Shvapaka, Saugandha, Madranabha, Pukkasa, Kshudra, Andhra, Káravara, Pandisaupaka A'hindaka, and of some other Castes is given in the fictional form found in Manu and in the table which we have already inserted †

The story of Parashurama and Vishvámitra is again repeated with variations. Mr Muir who gives it at length, asks, "Is the legend intended to account for a real fact? Was Parashurama of a sacerdotal tribe, and yet by profession a warrior, just as Vishvamitra was conversely of royal extraction and yet a priest by profession? ‡

The rules to be observed in the giving of gifts and practising liberality (*dandharma*) are laid down with particularity. The fruit of the gift of a cow by a Brahman distinguished for truth and duty is equal to that of a thousand (in ordinary circumstances). The fruit of a similar gift by a Kshatriya of this character is equal to that enjoyed by a Brahman. That of a Vaishya is that of five hundred, and of a Shúdra, of the fourth (of the Brahman's merit, or two hundred and fifty) §. A long conversation on the merit of the gift of cows conducted between Saudása

* M Bh. xiii. v. 2010, et seq.

† M Bh. xiii. 2565, et seq. See before pp. 50 59 65 70.

‡ Muir's Texts i. 169-171. M Bh. xiii. 2718, et seq.

§ M Bh. xiii. v. 3575-79. See the context for the institutes about *Dandharma*.

and Vasishtha, follows * The teachings of Vasishtha are in reply to the question ‘What O sinless Lord is declared to be the purest thing in the three worlds by constantly observing which a man may acquire the highest merit (*punyamuttamam*) ? They specify amongst other things, the heavens (*lohas*) into which the givers of cows of particular colours and trappings and conditions as to calves and milk enter after death They called forth, according to the legend great liberality from Saudasa, who in consequence attained to the heavens, —a plurality of these ‘heavens’ being intimated without that individual specification which with reference to his personal identity it might have been difficult to indicate I once ventured to propose this question to a Brahman casuist “Into what heaven or heavens does the giver of cows of different characters, each meriting a particular heaven actually enter ? He seemed unwilling to give any answer I expected him to have said “He will get a choice

Another story about Parashurama appears in this neighbourhood It is thus given by Mr Mun —

‘It begins as follows ‘Rama son of Jamadagni, having thrice seven times cleared the world of Kshatriyas, and conquered the whole earth performed the horse sacrifice, venerated by Brahmins and Kshatriyas, which confers all objects of desire, which cleanses all creatures augments power and lustre and became thereby sinless and glorious. He did not however feel relieved in his mind, but enquired of the Rishis skilled in the scriptures and the gods, what was that which most perfectly cleansed a man who had committed deeds of violence for he felt compunction for what he had done The Rishis skilled in the Vedas and Shastras replied, let the Brahmins be the objects of your liberality, as the authority of the Vedas requires and let the Brahman Rishis be further consulted in regard to the

means of lustration Parashurama accordingly consulted Vasishtha, Agastya, and Kashyapa They replied that he should bestow cows, land, and other property, and especially gold, the purifying power of which was very great as those who bestow it, bestow the gods — a proposition which is thus compendiously proved for Agni comprehends all the gods, and gold is of the essence of Agni In regard to the origin of this precious metal Vasishtha tells a very long story, how it was born by the goddess Gangā to Agni, by whom she had been impregnated and was the son of that god Thus was gold born the offspring of Jatavedas (Agni) the chief of gems and of ornaments, the most pure of all pure things, the most auspicious of all auspicious objects, and one with the divine Agni the lord Prayapati It must be highly consolatory for those who are disposed to be liberal to the Brahmans to be assured that the gift of gold has such a high mystical as well as current exchangeable value Parashurama, the story concludes 'after being thus addressed by Vasishtha gave gold to the Brahmans and was freed from sin *

A duty story is told about the birth of the great Brahman Bhrigu, of whose origin various accounts are given in the Hindu writings †

Arjuna is represented as disputing the power and authority of the Brahmans, and as boasting of his own prowess as a Kshatriya The god Vayu is then brought in repeating various stories, to rebuke his presumption and establish the priestly pre-eminence When the earth offended by king Anga who wished to present it to the Brahmans as a sacrificial fee was about to depart in a pet to the world of Brahma the sage Kashyapa (a Brahman) entered into her, and she became replenished with grass and plants, and then did obeisance to Kashyapa, and became his daughter Angiras made a potation of the waters and then filled the whole earth with a great flood

* Muns Text 1 pp 107 63 M Pl and 1 390, et seq

† See Muns Texts 1 pp 157 53

Gautama cursed Purandara (the god Indra) for an evil-affection for his wife Ahalya, and yet escaped injury by his daring. The Brahmans made the ocean salt by their curse. Anuva alone destroyed the great Kshatriya family of the Talajungas. Agni himself is a Brahman receiving the offerings of the whole world. Utathya called the god Varuna a "robber," for carrying off his wife, and in his rage compelled restitution by drinking up all the sea, of which Varuna (in his modern aspects) is supposed to be the guardian. Agastya protected the gods from the enraged Asuras and Danavas, when they appealed to him for protection, and expelling the Danavas from heaven made them fly to the south. Vasishtha, on another occasion, also protected the gods, including Indra from the Danavas, all of whom he burnt up. Atin too, protected the gods from their enemies. Chayavana, the powerful, forced Indra to drink the Soma with the Ashvins frightening him by a fearful monster, named Mada, which he created for the occasion. When Indra and the gods had fallen into the mouth of this Mada and thus lost heaven, and when the demon Kapas had deprived them of the earth, they betook themselves on the advice of Brahmá to the Brahmans, who hurled forth their fires and destroyed Kapas. Given the truth of all these stories we need not wonder at Arjuna saying,

"I live altogether and always for the Brahmans. I am devoted to the Brahmins, and do obsequence to them continually."* How suitable to the omnipotent sons of Brah-

* M. Bh. xii. 7187-7323. See *Mut. s. Texts*, i. pp. 153-169. These stories of the Mahábhārata are similar to those to which we have referred at pp. 23-25 of this work.

may would have been the counsel of the poet Cowper —

Beware of too sublime a sense
Of your own worth and consequence
The man who dreams himself so great
And his importance of such weight
That all around in all that's done
Must move and act for him alone
Will learn in school of tribulation
The folly of his expectation

(14) In the *Ashvamedha*, or Horse Sacrifice Parva, we have some valuable geographical information given in connexion with the wandering of the horse previous to its being presented to the god Indra, but its indications we have already noticed on the authority of Professor Lassen *.

In the latter Parvas we have not found any information respecting Caste worthy of abstracting, though their tone is altogether consistent with its spirit †.

Having given as we have passed along most of the legends respecting Parashurama and the destruction of the Kshatriyas, we may turn back to a notice of a renewed race of Kshatriyas said to have been produced by the intercourse of Brahmins with Kshatriya women. At this time it is added, the Brahminical faith was well observed, the Brahmins being well instructed in the Vedas their Angas and the Upanishads, the Kshatriyas being liberal in their Daksina to Brahmins, the Vashyas cultivating their fields without cows (i.e. only by bullocks,) the Shudras not presuming to pronounce the Vedas, and all the Castes (*Varnas*) following their dis-

* See before, pp 240, et seq

† For a reference to Gokarna, Prabhasa, and Dwarka etc, see M Bh. iv v 2177, et seq

tinctive works*. The general doctrine of orthodox Hindus is that the Kshatriyas as a body have disappeared. The probable reason of this allegation as we have already hinted, was the countenance given by the Kshatriyas to the Buddhist heresy. The spread of this heresy gave an impetus and expansion among the Brahmans to the legends about Parashurama which they did not originally possess, and that very much to the annoyance of the professing Kshatriyas of the present day who are very unwilling to have their desired position in the Indian community in any way questioned.

In no work of the classical literature of the Hindus has so much been done by interpolations and apocryphal additaments, to uphold Caste as in the Mahabharata. That large work, with its numerous didactic episodes and interludes is as great a strong hold of Caste as any of the Indian law-books, to which from its references to them it is obvious that large portions of it are posterior. It may be characterized as the great fountain of Indian popular distinction. Its influence exceeds that of all the Puranas put together, though they themselves to a considerable extent harmonize with it. The provincial poetry—as that of the Marathis,—continually draws from its almost inexhaustible stores. Most injurious is the common idea formed of it by the Hindus that the bulk of it is veritable history as well as exciting and amusing poetry. A translation of the whole of it into English is certainly a desideratum. Notwithstanding the care bestowed on the edition of the text printed at Calcutta a collation of the older manuscripts is also a desideratum.

* M. Bh. i. v. 2428 et seq.

† A lithographed edition of the work is in the press in Bombay.

VII —THE BUDDHIST VIEW OF CASTE

On entering on this subject it is necessary for us to mark the present stage of our chronological advancement. We view Dr Max Muller's date of the Sûtra period, —from 600-200 before Christ,—as correct enough for general practical purposes. It is abundantly evident from the notices which we have given, from even the earliest of this series of works, that the Caste system had reached its maturity when they were prepared. It is also manifest from the Aranyakas and Upanishads, that even before this time, Indian speculation, in which it is admitted on all hands Buddhism originated, had made considerable progress. With Caste, then, Buddhism had to deal. Its peculiar treatment of this institution, as we shall immediately see, was one of the principal causes of its rapid establishment in India. Buddhism in its most important social aspect was a reaction against Caste, the tyranny of which multitudes had begun to feel to be unbearable, though previous to its origin they had considered themselves unable to assail the religious foundations on which it was supposed to rest. The Brâhmins, the inventors and guardians of Caste, had up to the time of Buddha been nearly omnipotent in Indian society.

The word *Buddha* is not a name, but an appellation. It means the "intelligent-one," or the party possessed of intelligence (in the sense of omniscience). The proper name of the individual on whom it is conferred is unknown, as is the case with those of not a few of the most celebrated of the Hindu religiousists. Other common denominations of Buddha were *Shakya Muni*, the Sage of the Shakya

tribe, *Shalya Prabhu* the Shakya Lord *Shakya Sinha*, the Shakya Lion (or majestic one) *Prabhu Gandama*, the distinguished one of the Gautama family, *Bhagavat* the worshipful one, emphatically so called, *Siddhanta* the one who has obtained perfection, and *Tathagata*, the one who has passed (into total liberation or extinction) *

Buddha (who is represented by his followers as having a pre-existent heavenly state obtained by his merits in former births) belonged originally to the Kshatriya Caste, of the early influence of which in Indian speculation we have already seen some notices † His father was Shuddhodana the king of Kapilavastu or Kapilpur ‡ 'the estate of Kapila' or 'city of Kapila', probably so named from its proximity to what may have been the hermitage of the Rishi Kapila, the reputed founder of the Sankhya or Numinal System of the Indian Schoolmen, to certain of whose doctrines some of those of Buddha bear a considerable resemblance His mother, Maya or Mayadevi, daughter of king Suprabuddha, is said to have died seven days after

* *Lalitā Vistara*, in mult loc

† See before pp 239 240, Kumāra [the commentator on the *Minoris*] always speaks of Buddha as a Kshatriya who tried to become a Brahmin. Muller's *Hist of Sans Lit* p 79

‡ *Lalitā Vistara* adh xii xv xvi Jist of Shakya by A Coma Korosi in As. Res vol xv pp 286 et seq

§ There was a consultation again among the gods in what form *Iddhi attā* should enter into the womb or body of the woman whom he had chosen to become his mother A young elephant with six adorned trunks such a has been judged proper in Brahminical works, was preferred He therefore leaving *Pushtā* [said to be a heaven] descends and in the form of an elephant enters by the right side or cavity of the body of Mayadevi the wife of Shuddhodana The child came out by her right side See A Coma Korosi ut sup

his birth. He was reared under the care of her sister, Gautamī. His early days gave indications of future promise, and many extravagant and incongruous legends connected with them are related by his followers. In his youth, it is said he was put to school (*śālāhṛī* hall of writing), where he greatly astonished his master, who was named Viśhvamitra, by his knowledge of sixty kinds of writing: terrene and celestial.* The party chosen for him as a wife was Gopa, the daughter of Dandapani, like himself of the Shakya race, for she is often spoken of as the Shakya Kanya (daughter, or lady)†. Two other spouses were given to him according to the Tibetan accounts. By one of his wives, the name of whom is variedly given in the Buddhist writings,‡ he had a son named Rahula. Marriage did not in his case interfere with the meditation and reflection to which he was early addicted. At the age of twenty-nine he renounced the world, deeply affected by its prevailing miseries. He

* At the time of Buddha's birth literal writing was probably not practised by the Indians though it was in use somewhat before the third century before Christ. See Author's *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, pp. 34-36 and more particularly Max Müller's *Hist. of Anc. & Lit.* pp. 497-524. Among the kinds of writing said to be known to Buddha were those of *Anga* (the Bhagalpur territories), *Banga* (Bengal), *Magadha*, *Dravida*, and *Kinuri* (or Kanadi, the Cararese country?) the *Dalshina*, the *Ugra*, the *Darda*, the *Kashya*, the *China*, the *Iluna*, the *Uttara Kuru*, the *Apara Cauda*, the *Eastern Videha*, *Ikshita*, *Vistara*, and *x* (Calcutta ed. pp. 143-144). Csoma Korosi (*Asiatic Res.* v. p. 290) mentions the lipi of the *Yavanas* (or Greeks) as one of those known to Buddha but that is not specified in the Calcutta edition of the *Lalitā Vistara*.

† Lal. Vist. adh. xii.

‡ Jurnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi* p. 164. Mahavanso p. 9. Asiatic Res. v. p. 290.

became the pupil of a Brahman at Vaishali, and afterwards of another famous Bráhman at Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha. Simple austerities, however, were not to his taste. With five of his fellow-disciples he retired into solitude near the village of Uruvelaya (afterwards Buddhagaya) where for six years he resided maturing his own peculiar system of faith. Varanasi, or Benares, was the next place which enjoyed the light of his presence. He was afterwards invited by king Bimbisara to Rajagriha at which place and in its neighbourhood he is said to have discoursed to his disciples, teaching them the misery of birth and the desirableness of its termination. It was perhaps the favour extended to him by Bimbisara which led to the murder of that king by his son Ajatashatru. From Rajagriha he went to Sravasti, the capital of Kosala, where he lived and lectured in a distinctive building erected for him and his disciples by an opulent merchant named Ananpindada and where he succeeded in the conversion to his faith of Pissagutta the king of that locality. After twelve years absence he visited his native place, on which occasion his own tribe professed their adherence to his doctrines. His own wife and aunt (his foster mother) are said to have been the first of his female disciples and devotees. He afterwards revisited Rajagriha, where he could ultimately claim Ajatashatru as a disciple. He also revisited Vaishali, and at about the age of seventy five he died in a forest near Kushinagara, to which city he had been bending his footsteps. His death occurred according to Professor Lassen in the year 543, and according to Dr Max Muller, in the year 477, before Christ.*

* For a review of the question of the date of Buddha's death see Muller's Hist. of S. Lat. pp. 260 et seq (which contains the references

The doctrines of Buddha, metaphysically viewed, were of an atheistic character, as, like Kapila, his predecessor, he denied that there is any proof of the existence of a creative and superintending providence, and resolved all the objects, combinations, organizations, and phenomena, which indicate divine volition design creation adaptation, and guidance, into mere nature proximity, development, and growth * He was an indevout speculatist, but as an instructor he was aided by concurrent circumstances, and produce a greater effect on the mind and practice of India and through his disciples on the adjoining countries than any other of Indians sons This effect was not so much the result of his negative spiritual and metaphysical teaching—denying the existence of Deity and holding out as the summum bonum after death *niwana*—the extinction of being or as some writers are inclined to believe the extinction of conscious being, at death †—but of his moral and

to Lassen) and Goldstucker's *Manava Kalpa Sutra*, Introduction, p 230 234 Mr Tournour (*Mahavanso* Introduction p xlviii) was aware of the difficulty of fixing the date of Buddha's death though he decides as Lassen afterwards did in favour of the Ceylon authorities [As this sheet is passing through the press I observe that a paper on the date of the death of Buddha (*Ueber Buddhas Todesjahr und einige andere Zeitpunkte in der alteren Geschichte Indiens*) has just been published by my learned friend, Professor Westergaard A. D of Copenhagen He makes that event to have occurred between 368 370 B C]

* For the principles of the School of Kapila, see the "Sankhya Aphorisms of Kapila (text translation and paraphrase) by Dr Ballantyne and the *Sankhya Pratichina Bhishya* by Vijnana Bhikshu (text) with a valuable introduction by Dr Fitz Edward Hall

† *Na* is a participial noun formed from *va* (to blow as the wind) with the negative affix *na* It may mean non-agitation as well

social teachings, which were superior in some respects to those of his predecessors and contemporaries. What was his treatment of Caste ? is the question with which at present we have to do

For an answer to this question we must refer to the traditional records of his own teachings and those of his early disciples, which though full of exaggerations and inventions yet afford a small residuum of historical matter to the critical and philosophical reader, and to the wondrous monuments of the faith which he established which are to be found throughout India, especially in the Western parts of the Dakhan. Copies of these Buddhist records, in the Sanskrit language and Tibetan translations, were discovered and collected by one of India's most accomplished scholars (both as a linguist and a naturalist) and most able and public-spirited administrators, B H Hodg-

as extinction in which sense (with a good array of authority) it is interpreted by Burnouf Lassen etc. The word in its technical meaning is used by the Jain disputants of the North West of India principally for absolute and undisturbable non-conscious quiescence. The difference between this idea and that of extinction is but very slight. One of the most interesting groups of hewn figures at the Caves of Ajanta, of gigantic dimensions, represents the death of Buddha. 'The sage in the scene is lying in a horizontal position. His earthly servants, standing round his couch are overcome with sorrow and grief while a band of heavenly choristers above is frantic with joy at the supposed liberation or extinction of his spirit. Author's Remarks on the Buddhist Excavations of Western India prefixed to Johnson's Photographs of the Caves of Kauli, p. 5. No symbol of the departed spirit is seen in this group. Dr Judson (see his Memoir by Dr Weyland, pp. 340-1) found nothing in the Buddhism of Burmah to retain the system from the charge of absolute nihilism. Dr Judson regarded the state of *nirvana* as nothing less than a total extinction of soul and body.

son Esq, long Resident at the Court of Nepál, who also directed attention to their interesting contents in a series of valuable papers given by him to the Asiatic Societies of India and Europe*. Copies of them too were with princely liberality presented by Mr Hodgson to the Asiatic Societies of Bengal Great Britain and France. They bore their first fruits in Paris through the zeal and perseverance of the late ingenious and learned Professor L. Burnouf, who made them the foundation of his 'Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien' which was published in 1844 and who also translated into French, one of the most important of them the *Saddharma Pandarika*, or 'Lotus de la Bonne Loi' which left the press a short time after his lamented death. With the discovery of the Hodgson manuscripts, the researches in Tibet of Mr Alexander Csoma Korosi—whose Analysis of the Dulva (a portion of the great *Kah-Gyur*) and Notices of the Life of Shákya, appeared in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Transactions in 1835 Schmidt's translation of portions of the Buddhist canon of Mongolia, and the translation and publication of the Malavanso of Ceylon by the Hon George Lunnou which appeared in 1837 were nearly concurrent. These interesting works have been followed by the translation from the Chinese of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrims Fa-hian and Hsien Tsiang in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth, and in the seventh, centuries of the Christian era, by Remusat Klipproth, Lantheus and Julien by a translation from the Jiletan of a History of Buddha, by Foucaux.

* These papers, fifteen in number were collected by Mr Hodgson and republished by him at the Serampore press in 1841.

by the publication, in the Bibliotheca Indica, of a portion of the Sanskrit *Lalitā Vistara*, the Legendary Life of Buddha edited by Babu Rajendralal Mitra, by the important works of the Rev Spence Hardy on Eastern Monachism and his Manual of Buddhism by the able papers of the Rev D J Gogerly of Ceylon, by the publication of the Pali text of the *Dhammapadam* by Dr Fausboll of Copenhagen by various papers on the Buddhist antiquities of Western India in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society * and by the learned treatises

* ' The following is a list of the papers treating of them (the Buddhist remains) which appear in our late proceedings, according to the dates which they bear On the Ashoka inscriptions at Girnār by Captain G LeG Jacob and N L Westergaard, Esq Brief account of the Minor Buddha Caves of Bédāsa and Bhujā near Kārla by N L Westergaard Mr Prinsep's Correspondence with Dr Burn on Indian Antiquities Historical Researches on the Origin and Principles of the Buddha and Jaina Religions by James Bird, Esq Correction of Errors in the Introduction of the Girnār Inscriptions by Capt LeGrand Jacob Memoir on the Cave Temples and Monasteries and other Ancient Buddhist Brahmanical and Jaina remains of Western India by John Wilson D D Memorandum on some Buddhist Excavations near Kārla by H B F Fiere Esq Note on the Rock Inscriptions in the Island of Sumatra by J Stevenson D D Second Memoir on the Cave Temples and Monasteries and other Ancient Remains of Western India by John Wilson D D Historical Names and Facts contained in the Kanheri Inscriptions, by J Stevenson D D On the Nasik Cave Inscription by J Stevenson D D Buddhist Cave Temples in the Sarkas of Butul Wādī and Daulatabad, by W H Bradley Esq Salyader Inscriptions by J Stevenson D D Description the Caves of Kārla in Malwa by J Impey Esq Descriptive Notices of Antiquities in Sindhy by H B F Fiere Esq All these papers are in addition to the well known papers of Mr Erskine Colonel Sikes, and Captain Dinglefield and contain important information with statements of opinion and speculation worthy of respectful attention Other valuable

of Koppen and St Hilaire Ample material has thus been provided for a correct estimate of Buddhism in its general character and relationships though other contributions to its elucidation will still be welcomed by the public* There can now be but little doubt of the view which Buddha took of Indian Caste

papers on the matters to which I now refer, especially by Dr Stevenson and the Messrs West have been laid before the Society —Authors Review of the Present State of Oriental Antiquarian and Geographical Research connected with the West of India in Journ B. B. R. A. S 1855 Since this article appeared, the transcript of the Kanheri Inscriptions by the Messrs. West has been published in the Bombay Journal for 1862 Dr Bháu Daji is reviewing them and others in a series of ingenious and learned papers. It is hoped that by degrees their contents will be fully ascertained

* Of the Buddhist writings the following is a correct summary view by Professor H H Wilson

“According to the Buddhists themselves, the doctrines of Shákya Muni were not committed to writing by him but were orally communicated to his disciples and transmitted in like manner by them to succeeding generations. When they were first written is not clearly made out from the traditions of the North, but they agree with those of the South in describing the occurrence of different public councils or convocations at which the senior Buddhist priest corrected the errors that had crept into the teaching of heterodox disciples and agreed upon the chief points of discipline and doctrine that were to be promulgated. The first of these councils was held, it is said immediately after Shákya Muni's death the second 110, and the third 218 years afterwards or about 246 B C. The Northern Buddhists confound apparently the second and third councils, or take no notice of the latter in the time of Ashoka, but placed the third in Kashmir under the patronage of Kanishka or Kanerka one of the Hindu Sythuc Kings 400 years after Buddha's Nirvana or B C 153. Both accounts agree that the propagation of Buddhism, by Missions dispatched for that purpose, took place after the third council”

Buddha found the system of Indian caste in existence and vigorous operation when he commenced his studies and teachings. In the oldest works of his disciples which treat of his life and doctrines the first castes—of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vashyas, and Shudras,—are frequently mentioned, and often in opposition to the Chandals who are introduced as representatives of the non Brahmanical classes. The Brahmans are generally alluded to as *de facto* superior to the other classes in status, learning, religious practice, and austerities. They are recognized as acquainted with the four Vedas, as in possession of the *mantras* or holy words as the dispensers and conductors of sacred rites to princes and peoples, as Brahmans by birth (*Jāti-Brahmanāḥ*) and Brahmans by learning (*Vēda-Brahmanāḥ*) as resorting to agriculture only in times or circumstances of distress, as practising astrology and soothsaying and as receiving gifts of goods treasure.

“According to the traditions which are current in the South as well as the North the classification of the Buddhist authorities as the Tripiṭhaka (the three collections) took place at the first council the portion termed *Sūtra* the doctrinal precepts, being compiled by Ananda the *Vinaya* or discipline of the priesthood, by Upali and the *Abhidharma* or philosophical portion by Kashyapa, all three Buddha's disciples. Their compilations were revised at the second council and were finally established as canonical at last. Their being councilled however does not necessarily imply their being written and according to the Northern Buddhists, they were not committed to writing until after the convocation in Kashmir or 100 B. C. while the Southern authorities state, that they were preserved by memory for 400 years and were then first reduced to writing in Ceylon.—Journ. of R. A. S. vol. xvi p. 239. In the paper from which this extract is made Professor Wilson expresses his doubt of the system of the Buddhists having had any specific founder. Shakyamuni, he is inclined to consider only a mythical personage.

and land for their services. The Kshatriyas, with whom, as we have already seen Buddha himself was connected, are noticed as a governing class, and most of the more important of them embraced the system of faith and practice of which he was the parent, and used their influence in behalf of that system even to the humiliation of the Brahmins. Other Castes, such as those of the Venukara*, Rathakaras, Pukkars, Bubars, Ahirs or Herdsmen, are viewed in the writings to which we refer as inferior both in station and privilege to the Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The Buddhist Sutras too recognize the duty or custom of each person to marry in his own caste, and to follow the profession of his ancestors. They ascribe baseness and elevation of birth to sin practised or to merit accumulated in former births according to the prevailing doctrine of the metempsychosis. Yet the *Lalita Vistara* in giving an account of the choice of a wife for Buddha by his father Shuddhodana, represents the father as giving instructions that the wife should be chosen according to her qualities, from either a Brahman, a Kshatriya, a Vushya or a Shûdra family*. This work however was probably composed, only little more than a century before the Christian era.

* While society was in this state—to quote from M. E. Burnouf,—there was born in one of the families of the Kshatriyas that of the Shâkvas of Kapilavastu, which professed to be descended from the Solar race of Kings, a young prince who at the age of twenty nine renounced the world, and became a devotee under the name of *Shakya Muni*, or *Shraman Gautama*. His doctrine

* *Lalita Vistara*, adh. xii (p. 159 Calc. ed.)

which according to the [Buddhist] Sutras was more moral than metaphysical, at least in its principle, rested on an opinion admitted as a fact, and upon a hope presented as a certainty. The opinion was that the visible world is in a state of perpetual change, that death succeeds life, and life death, that man, as well as all that surrounds him, revolves in an eternal circle of transmigration, that he passes in succession through all the varieties of life from the most elementary to the most perfect; that the place which he occupies in the vast scale of living beings depends on the merit of the actions he performs in the world, and that thus the virtuous man is to be reborn after death with a divine body and the wicked with a degraded body, that the rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell are only for a limited period, like the things of this world, that time exhausts the merit of virtuous actions as it effaces the faults of the wicked, and that the fated law of change extends over the world, over the gods, and over the damned (in hell). The hope which Shākya Muni gave to men was the possibility of escaping this law of change, by entering into what is called *nirvana*, that is to say annihilation. The positive sign of this annihilation was death, but a preventive sign announced in this life the man predestined to this supreme deliverance, it was the possession of unlimited knowledge which enabled him to see the world with all its moral and physical laws, and to sum up all in a single word, it was the practice of the six transcendental perfections—almsgiving, morality, knowledge, energy, patience and charity. The authority on which the devotee of the race of Shākya rested his teaching was entirely personal and was formed of two

elements, the one real, and the other ideal. The first was the regularity and sanctity of his conduct, of which chastity, patience, and charity formed the principal features. The second was the claim he had to be a Buddha, that is Enlightened [rather The-endowed-with-intelligence], and consequently possessed of superhuman knowledge and power. By his power he wrought miracles, by his knowledge he called up before himself the past and the future in a clear and complete form. By it he could tell what any man had done in a previous state of existence, and he affirmed that an infinite number of beings had like himself already attained by the practice of the same virtues to the dignity of a Buddha before entering into a state of complete annihilation. In fine, he presented himself to men as their Saviour, and promised that his death should not be the annihilation of his doctrine, but that that doctrine should continue for a great number of ages after him, and that when its salutary influence should cease a new Buddha, whom he announced by name, should come into the world, who before having to descend to the earth had, according to the legends, consecrated himself in heaven to be a future Buddha.*

The same distinguished orientalist from whom we have now quoted thus more particularly notices the view taken by Buddha of Indian society, and the modifications which he introduced into it in connexion with Caste. "His avowed aim was to save men from the miserable conditions of existence which they found in this world, and to free them from the fated law of transmigration. He ad-

* Burnouf *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, 1. pp. 152-53. His references in proof are to the *Lalitavistara*, fol. 40 of his MS. and to the *Lite of Shakhyas* in *As Res.* vol. xx p. 287.

mitted that the practice of virtue ensured to a good man a future sojourn in heaven, and the enjoyment of a better existence. But no one viewed this as a definitive state of well-being to become a god was to be born again in order one day to die and the object was to escape for ever the necessity of being born again and dying. The distinction of Castes was in the view of Shākya an accident in the existence of men here below—an accident which he recognized, but could not prevent. This is why the Castes appear in all the Sūtras and legends which I have read as an established fact against which Shākya does not make a single political objection. This was so much the case that when a party attached to the service of a prince wished to embrace the life of a devotee Shākya did not receive him till the prince had given his consent. [This is illustrated by a legend from the *Avadana Shatuka*] This respect of Shākya for the royal authority has left its traces even on modern Buddhism, and it is one of the fundamental rules for the ordination of a Devotee or Mendicant [*Bhikkhu*] that he should reply in the negative to the question Art thou in the service of the king? Shākya admitted, then the

* [One of the questions asked (in Pāli) at the candidate for admission into the order of Devotee (*Bhikkhu*) is नसी राजमणे—Thou art not a soldier of the king? The reply is भाममन्ने—I am not O venerable-ones. See *Kumāravakyā*, edited by Dr. Spiegel p. 5. The novice is exhorted according to this formula of initiation to eat the food left by others except on particular occasions to wear chiefly garments dyed with clay to dwell usually at the roots of trees to use cow's urine as a medicament and only occasionally ghee butter oil honey and sugar to abstain altogether from intercourse with women to abstain from touching even that of a kinsman to abstain from killing animals etc.]

hierarchy of Castes he even explained it, as did the Brahmans by the theory of punishments and rewards, and as often as he instructed a man of low condition, he did not fail to attribute the baseness of his birth to the sins he had committed in a former life. To convert a man of whatever condition, then, was in the view of Shakya to give him the means of escaping from transmigration. "Shákya opened then to all castes without distinction the way of salvation, from which their birth had before excluded the greater number and he made them equal among themselves, and in his own estimation, by conferring upon them investiture with the rank of Devotees. In this last respect he went much further than the philosophers Kapila and Patanjali who had begun a work somewhat resembling that which the Buddhists afterwards accomplished. By attacking as useless the works prescribed by the Veda, and by substituting for them the practice of personal asceticism Kapila had placed within the reach of all in principle at least if not in reality, the title of Ascetic, which previous to that time had been the distinction and almost exclusive privilege of the life of a Brahman. Shákya did more than this he gave to isolated philosophers the organization of a religious body. We thus find the explanation of two facts the facility with which Buddhism must have been originally propagated, and the opposition which Brahmanism naturally made to its progress. The Brahmans had no objections to make to Shákya so long as he restricted himself to work out as a philosopher the future deliverance of man, and to assure him of the liberation which I have already characterized as absolute.

But they could not admit the possibility of that actual deliverance, that relative liberation which tended to nothing short of the destruction in a given time, of the subordination of Castes as regarded religion. This is how Shákya attacked the foundation of the Indian system and it indicates that a time could not fail to come, when the Brahmans placed at the head of that system, would feel the necessity of proscribing a doctrine of which the consequences could not escape them *

It is evident from all this,—which is perfectly consistent with what is found in the oldest Buddhist Sutras and legends,—that Shákya Muni did not directly oppose the state of matters religious and social which he found to exist in Indian society. He thought that he had found out a better and shorter way to get rid of the evils of life, and he brought his own plan to notice in the most effective manner. He became himself, as we have seen an ascetic, and he strove by strictness and purity of life, more than by harshness of discipline to become the best of ascetics and to elevate himself to a moral position, superior even to that of the *Tirthyas* or dwellers at holy places and the most ascetic of the Brahmans. His tenets and practices he brought conspicuously to notice by the public preaching of himself and his disciples, avoiding that monopoly of knowledge and instruction to which the Brahmans had laid claim. All classes of society without any peculiar privilege from Caste were invited to join the order which he established, with the full expectation of receiv-

* Burnouf ut sup 1 pp 210 212

ing their highest advantages. He disparaged and eschewed, though he did not directly condemn, a hereditary priesthood. He pretended, if we may believe his followers, to work miracles and to be himself a miracle of knowledge. He carried his sympathies too much farther beyond the human family than had been done before his day. He interdicted all animal sacrifice and all slaying of animals even for the purpose of food, ordering the rules of eating and drinking so as to make them accord with this object. Aided by numerous associates and by some of the most powerful of the Indian princes, he effected a revolution in Indian society. Multitudes made him their leader, his system gained a political importance particularly through Ashoka the grandson of Chandragupta (the Sandracottus of the Greeks) and his faith through the zeal of his adherents, and the notice which his wondrous structural buildings and excavations (then novelties in India) attracted became predominant in India for ages and was carried to other lands where it still exists though not with its pristine vigour. Even the forest tribes of India as may be seen from the ornamental figures of the cave-temples and monasteries of Western India are represented as joyfully doing him homage. Denying the existence of the Divinity, he made himself, or suffered himself to be made a god. His images through the efforts of his followers, soon filled the temples, the gods of the Hindu pantheon being thence banished or there appearing as subordinate to himself. His way became more glorious than that of the Brahmins in the eye of the multitude, the *Shramana*

taking the precedence of the *Bráhmāna* * Though some Brahmans became his willing pupils, the Bráhmanical body soon appeared in opposition to him His followers in their turn began to oppose the Brahmans and ultimately placed themselves to them in an attitude of unmitigated hostility The strife continued even during the ages of Buddhist ascendancy The Brahman power as will be onwards noticed ultimately proved victorious within the bounds of India proper

The final attitude of Buddhism to Caste cannot be better illustrated than by the Buddhist tract attributed to Ashva Ghoshā. This witty production was discovered by Mr Hodgson in Nepal in 1829 'A few days since (he writes in July 11th, 1829) "my learned old Bauddha friend brought me a little tract in Sanskrit, with such an evident air of pride and pleasure, that I immediately asked him what it contained Oh my friend," was his reply, 'I have been long trying to procure for you this work, in the assurance that you must highly approve the wit and wisdom contained in it, and after many applications to the owner I have at length obtained the loan of it for three or four days. But I cannot let you have it or even a copy of it, such being the conditions on which I procured you a sight of it These words of my old friend stimulated my curiosity, and with a few fair words I engaged the old gentleman to lend me and my pandit his aid in making a translation of it.' This

* The designation of *Shramana* (a practiser of *śrama*, toil or austerity) does not necessarily mean a Buddhist devotee but as opposed to *Brahmana*, it has this meaning in which it always occurs in the Buddhist writings.

translation appeared in the third volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was afterwards reprinted in Mr Hodgson's Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists. I have compared it throughout with a manuscript of the original presented to me by the late L. Wilkinson, Esq., a most able and zealous member of the Bombay Civil Service, and found it to be both sufficiently accurate, and spirited *. I here give it a place, interpolating a few explanations and adding a few notes. The Buddhist author, it must be borne in mind, reasons *ex concessu* throughout, from what he supposes to be the Bráhmaṇical writings.

Vajra Shuchī

' I Ashva Ghosha first invoking Manju Ghosha † the Guru of the world, with all my soul and all my strength, proceed to compose the book called *Vajra Shuchī* [the Adamantine Needle] in according with the Shastras [or rather established opinion, *Mata*]

Allow then that your Védas and Smritis, and works involving both *Dharma* and *Artha*‡ are good and valid, and that discourses at variance with them are invalid, still what you say that the Bráhmaṇ is the highest of the four Castes, cannot be proved from these books.

Tell me first of all what is Brahmanhood? Is it life, or parentage,§ or body, or wisdom or the way [rather practice *achára*] or acts i. e. that is morality (*karma*) or the Védas (learning in the Védas)

If you say that it is life (*jīva*) such an assertion cannot be reconciled with the Védas for it is written in the Védas that the sun and

* The *Vajra Shuchī* was printed by Mr Wilkinson in 1839, with an acute but sophistical comment on it by Subají Bápu.

† [Probably a Buddhist sage. See Burnouf *Lotus de la Bonne Loi* p. 509.]

‡ [*Dharma* (duty) *artha* (aim) *kama* (desire), and *moksha* (liberation) are the four objects of human existence according to Hindus.]

§ [In the MS. sent to me by Mr Wilkinson the word for this (given outwards as *jitā*, or birth rather than parentage) is omitted.]

*the moon, and other deities were at first quadrupeds, and some other deities were first animals and afterwards became gods, even the vilest of the vile (*śhīlapaka*) have become gods.* From these words it is clear that Brāhmanhood is not life (*jīva*) a position which is further proved from these words of the (Mahā) Bhārata seven hunters and ten deer of the hill Kālnjala, a goose of the lake Mānasa sara a Chakravaka of the Sharadvīpa, all these were born as Brahmans in the *Kurukshetra* (near Delhi), and became very learned in the Vēdas It is also said by Manu in his Dharmashāstra, "Whatever Brāhman learned in the four Vēdas with their Angas and Upāngas, shall take charity [fees or gifts] from a Shudra, shall for twelve births be an ass, and for sixty births a hog and seventy births a dog † From these words it is clear that Brahmanhood is not life for if it were, how could such things be ?

If, again you say that Brāhmanhood depends on parentage or birth (*jati*) that is, that to be a Brāhman one must be born of Brahman parents.—this notion is at variance with the known passage of the Smṛiti, that Achala Muni was born of an elephant, and Kēśha Pingala of an owl and Agastya Muni from the Agasti flower, and Kausika Muni from the Kusha grass and Kapila from a monkey, and Gautama Rishi from a creeper that entwined a Sala tree, and Drona Achārya from an earthen pot and Taittiri Rishi from a partridge, and (Parashu) Rāma from dust, and Shringa Rishi from a deer, and Vyāsa Muni from a fisherwoman and Kaushika Muni from a female Shūdra, and Vishvāmītra from a Chāndālī and Vasishtha Muni from a strumpet Not one of them had a Brāhman mother, and yet all were notoriously called Brāh

[The text of this passage is the following —

ओम् । सूर्य पशुरासीत् । साम पशुरासीत् ।

इन्द्र पशुरासीत् । पशवेभ्यः ।

भाषते देवा पशव । श्वपाका अपि देवा भवति ।

—literally The Sun was an animated being [or the (great) Soul, according to the Vedāntists] the Moon was an animated being Indra was an animated being animated beings (were) the gods moreover the gods were animated beings the dog eaters were at first gods]

† [The taking of gifts by Brahmans from Śūdras is forbidden in Manu but not in the other law codes alleged]

mans whence I infer, that the title is a distinction of popular origin and cannot be traced to parentage from written authorities *

Should you again say that whoever is born of a Brāhman father or mother is a Brahman then the child of a slave [Dāsa] even may become a Brahman a consequence to which I have no objection, but which will not consort with your notions I fancy

Do you say that he who is sprung of Brahman parents is a Brahman? Still I object that, since you must mean pure and true Brahmins, in such case the breed of Brāhmans must be at an end since the fathers of the parent race of Brahmins are not, any of them free from the suspicion of having wives, who notoriously commit adultery with Shudras. Now if the real father be a Shudra, the son cannot be a Brahman, notwithstanding the Brahmanhood of his mother. From all which I infer that Brahmanhood is not truly derivable from birth and I draw fresh proofs of this from the Manu Dharma, which affirms that the Brahman who eats flesh loses instantly his rank and also that by selling wax or salt, or mill he becomes a Shudra in three days and further, that even such a Brahman as can fly like a bird directly ceases to be a Brahman by meddling with the fleshpots. From all this is it not clear that Brahmanhood is not the same with birth? since, if that were the case, it could not be lost by any acts however degrading. Knew you ever of a flying horse that by alighting on earth was turned into a pig?—This impossible

Say you that body (*śarīra*) is the Brahman? this too is false, for, if body be the Brahman, then fire, when the Brahman's corpse is consumed by it, will be the murderer of a Brahman, and such also will be every

* [When such absurdities as those mentioned in this paragraph found entrance into the more modern Indian legendry (in which they still occupy a place) it is difficult to say. Some things resembling them occur in the Digvarga of the Amara Kośha, probably of the first century of the Christian era. Agastya, for example is there called *Kumbhāsambhava* produced from a jar. Angiras to be *Chitrashikhandīya*, born of a peacock and Aruna to be *Garudagraha*, born of the beak of *Garuḍa* or the eagle. The whole is equivalent to what would be such conceits as that Lord Bacon was born of the loin of a pig that Mr Partridge, the able scientific visitor of Garibaldi was born of the game bird of the same name and that the learned Mr Sheepshanks was born of the trotter of a ram.]

one of the Brahman's relatives who consigned his body to the flame. Nor less will this other absurdity follow that every one born of a Brahman though his mother were a Kshatriya or a Vudhva [or Shudra] would be a Brahman—being bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of his father a monstrosity you will allow that was never heard of. Again not performing sacrifice and causing others to perform it, reading and causing to read receiving and giving charity and other holy acts sprung from the body of the Brahman? Is then the virtue of all this destroyed by the destruction of the body of a Brahman? Surely not, according to your own principles and if not then Brahmanhood cannot consist in body.

Say you that wisdom* constitutes the Brahman? This too is incorrect. Why? Because if it were true many Shudras must have become Brahmins from the great wisdom they acquired. I myself know many Shudras who are masters of the four Vedas, and of philology and of the Mimamsa and Smriti and Vasudhika and Jyotirika philosophies yet not one of them is or ever was called a Brahman. It is clearly proved then that Brahmanhood consists not in wisdom or learning.

Then do you affirm that the Acharya's Brahmanhood? This too is false for if it were true many Shudras would become Brahmins since many Vais and Bhittas and Karmartas and Bhondas and others are everywhere to be seen performing the severest and most laborious acts of piety. And not one of these is so prominent in their Acharya is ever called a Brahman from which it is clear that Acharya does not constitute the Brahman.

Say you that *Tejasa* makes the Brahman? I answer no for the argument used above applies here with even greater force altogether annihilating the notion that *teja* constitutes the Brahman.

Do you declare that by reading the *Tejasa* man becomes a Brahman? This is palpably false for it is notorious that the *Tejasa* Rama was deeply versed in all the four Vedas [the Rig Veda, Yajurveda Sama Veda and Athirva Veda] and that indeed, all the *Rishis* studied the *Tejasa* in Lavana's time yet you do not say

* Perhaps it would do better not to learn. This word in the original is *Jñāna*.

that one of them thereby became a Brahman. It is therefore proved that no one becomes a Bráhmaṇ by reading the *Védas*.

What then is this creature called a Bráhmaṇ? If neither reading the *Védas* nor *sanskāras*, [sacraments] nor parentage, nor race (*kula*) nor acts (*karma*) confers Brahmanhood what does or can? To my mind Brahmanhood is merely an immaculate quality like the snowy whiteness of the Kundha flower. That which removes sin is Brahmanhood. It consists of *Vrata* and *Tapa* and *Niyama*, and *Upavasa*, and *Dāna*, and *Dama* and *Shama*, and *Sanyama*. It is written in the *Védas* that the gods hold that man to be a Bráhmaṇ who is free from intemperance and egotism and from *Sanga*, and *Parigraha* and *Rāga* and *Dvesha*. Moreover it is written in all the Shástras that the signs of a Brahman are these, truth, penance, the command of the organs of sense, and mercy, as those of a Chándala are the vices opposed to those virtues. Another mark of the Bráhmaṇ is a scrupulous abstinence from sexual commerce, whether he be born a god or a man or a beast*. Yet further Shukra (Achárya) has said that the gods take no heed of Caste, but deem him to be the Bráhmaṇ who is a good man although he belong to the vilest. From all which I infer that birth and life and body and wisdom, and observance of religious rites (Achara) and acts (*Karma*), are all of no avail towards becoming a Bráhmaṇ.

Then again, that opinion of your sect, that *Pravrajya* is prohibited to the Shúdra and that for him service and obedience paid to Bráhmaṇs are instead of *Pravrajyá*,—because, forsooth, in speaking of the four castes the Shúdra is mentioned last, and is therefore the vilest—is absurd for if it were correct, Indra would be made out to be the lowest and meanest of beings, Indra being mentioned in the (*Paru*) *Sútra* after the dog thus—“*Shva Pura, Vagharan*”†. In truth the order in which they are mentioned or written cannot affect the relative rank and dignity of the beings spoken of. What is *Purvati* greater than *Maheshwari*? or are the teeth superior in dignity to the lips because we find the latter postponed to the

* [This is according to the Buddhist view. The Indian Bráhmaṇs have practised marriage from the earliest ages.]

† [A name of Indra in the *Védas*.]

former for the mere sake of euphony in some grammar sentence? Are the teeth older than the lips or does your creed teach you to postpone Shiva to his spouse? No nor any more is it true that the Shūdra is vile and the Brahman high and mighty because we are used to repeat the *Chatur Varna* [four castes] in a particular order. And if this proposition be untenable, your deduction from it viz that the vile Shūdra must be content to regard his service and obedience to Brāhmanas as his only *Pravrajyā* * falls likewise to the ground.

Know further that it is written in the Dharma Shastra of Manu, that the Brāhman who has drunk the milk of a Shūdra or has been even breathed upon by a Shūdra or has been born of such a female is not restored to his rank by *Prayaschitta* †. In the same work it is further asserted that if any Brāhman eat or drink from the hands of a Shūdra he becomes in life a Shūdra, and after death a dog. Manu further says that a Brahman who associates with female Shūdras or keeps a Shūdra concubine shall be rejected by gods and ancestors, and after death shall go to hell. From all these assertions of the Manava Dharma, it is clear that Brahmanhood is nothing infeasibly attached to any race or breed, but is merely a quality of good men. Further it is written in the Shasra of Manu that many Shūdras became Brahmanas by force of their piety. For example Kathina Muni who was born of the sacrificial flame produced by the friction of wood became a Brahman by dint of Tapas and Vasishtha Muni born of the courtesan Urvashi and Veda Muni, born of a female of the fisherman's caste and Pishiyashringa Muni born of a doe and Vishvamitra, born of a *Chandala* and Narada Muni, born of a female spirit seller, all these became Brahmanas by virtue of their Tapas. Is it not clear then Brahmanhood depends not on birth? It is also notorious that he who has conquered himself is a *Yati* that he who performs penance is a *Tenusa* and that he who observes the *Brahmacharya* is a Brahman. It is clear then that he whose life is pure, and his temper cheerful is the true Brahman and that lineage (*Kula*) has nothing to do with the matter. There are these *Shlokas* in the Manava Dharma "Goodness of disposition and purity are the best of all things. Lineage is not alone deserving

[*Shushrūsha* service in MS.]

† [*Whirlwind* atonement in MS.]

of respect. If the race be royal and virtue be wanting to it it is contemptible and useless. Kāṭhina Muni and Vyāsa Muni and other sages, though born of Shūdras are famous among men as Brahmins, and many persons born in the lowest ranks have attained to heaven by the practice of uniform good conduct (*śhila*). To say therefore that the Brahmin is of one particular race is idle and false.

Your doctrine that the Brahmin was produced from the mouth, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaishya from the thighs, and the Shudras from the feet, cannot be supported. Brahmins are not of one particular race. Many persons have lived who belonged to the *Kauvāta* [fisherman] *kula* and the *Rājaka* [warherman] *kula* and the *Chandala kula* and yet while they existed in this world performed the *Chūḍa Karma* [head shaving] and *Munḍa bandhana* [tying the sacred string] and [applying the] *Danta Kishtha* [tooth rinsing wood] and other acts appropriated to Brahmins and after their deaths became, and still are famous under the Brahmin.

All that I have said about Brahmins you must know is equally applicable to Kshatriyas and that the doctrine of the four castes is altogether false. All men are of one caste.

Wonderful! you affirm that all men proceeded from one i.e. Brahma how then can there be a fourfold insuperable diversity among them? If I have four sons by one wife the four sons having one father and mother must be all essentially alike. Know too that distinctions of race among beings are broadly marked by differences of conformations and organization thus the foot of the elephant is very different from that of the horse that of the tiger unlike that of the deer and so of the rest and by that single diagnosis we learn that those animals belong to very different races. But I never heard that the foot of a Kshatriya was different from that of a Brahmin or that of a Shūdra. All men are formed alike and are clearly of one race. Further the generative organ the colour the figure the ordure the urine, the odour and utterance of the ox the buffalo, the horse the elephant the ass the monkey the goat the sheep etc. furnish clear diagnostics whereby to separate these various races of animals but in all those respect the Brahmin resembles the Kshatriya and is therefore of the same race or species with him. I have in mind among quadrupeds the diversities which separate diverse genera I now proceed to give some more instances from among birds. Thus

the goose the dove, the parrot, the peacock etc. are known to be different by their diversities of figure, and colour and plumage and beak but the Brahman, Kshatriya Vaishya, and Shudra are alike without and within. How then can we say they are essentially distinct? Again among trees, the Vata and Bikuila and Palash and Ashoka and Tamala, and Nagakeshara and Shirisha and Champa and others are clearly contradistinguished by their stems and leaves and flowers and fruits and barks and timber, and seeds and juices and odours but Brahmans, and Kshatriyas and the rest are alike in flesh and skins and blood and bones, and figure and excrements and mode of birth. It is surely then clear that they are of one species or race. Again, tell me is a Brahman's sense of pleasure and pain different from that of the Kshatriya? Does not the one sustain life in the same way and find death from the same causes as the other? Do they differ in intellectual faculties, in their actions or the objects of those actions in the manner of their birth or in their subjection to fear and hope? not a whit? It is therefore clear that they are essentially the same. In the Udumbara and Panasa trees the fruit is produced from the branches, the stem the joints, and the roots†. Is one fruit therefore different from another, so that we may call that produced from the top of the stem the Brahman fruit, and that from the roots the Shudra fruit? Surely not. Nor can men be of four distinct races because they sprang from four different parts of one body. You say that the Brahman was produced from the mouth whence was the Brahman produced? From the mouth likewise? Grant it and then you must marry the brother to the sister! a pretty business indeed! if such incest is to have place in this world of ours, all distinctions of right and wrong must be obliterated.

This consequence, flowing inevitably from your doctrine that the Brahman proceeded from the mouth proves the falsity of that doctrine. The distinctions between Brahmans Kshatriyas Vaishyas, and Shudras, are founded merely on the observance of divers rites, and the practice

* [Mr Hodgson justly says. The manner in which our author treats this part of his subject is, in my judgment admirable and altogether worthy of a European mind. Indeed it bears the closest resemblance to the style of argument used by Shakespeare in the Merchant of Venice. Hath not a Jew eyes etc.]

† [The Udumbara is the Ficus glomerata and the Panasa, the Artocarpus integrifolia.]

of different professions, as is clearly proved by the conversation of Vaishampáyana Rishi with Yudhishthira Rájá, which was as follows. One day the son of Pandu, named Yudhishthira, who was the wise man of his age joining his hands reverentially, asked Vaishampáyana, whom do you call a Brahman, and what are the signs of Brahmanhood? Vaisham answered, the first sign of a Bráhmaṇ is, that he possesses long suffering and the rest of the virtues, and never is guilty of violence and wrong-doing, that he never eats flesh and never hurts a sentient thing. The second sign is that he never takes that which belongs to another without the owner's consent, even though he find it in the road. The third sign is that he masters all worldly affections and desires, and is absolutely indifferent of earthly considerations. The fourth whether he is born a man, or a god or a beast, he never yields to sexual desires. The fifth that he possesses the following five pure qualities, truth, mercy, command of the senses, universal benevolence and penance.* Whoever possesses these five signs of Bráhmaṇhood I acknowledge to be a Bráhmaṇ, and, if he possess them not he is a Shúdra. Brahmanhood depends not on race (*Kula*) or birth, (*Jati*) nor on the performance of certain ceremonies. If a Chándala is virtuous, and possesses the signs above noted, he is a Bráhmaṇ. Oh! Yudhishthira, formerly in this world of ours there was but one caste. The division into four castes originated with diversity of rites and avocations. All men were born of woman in like manner. All are subject to the same physical necessities, and have the same organs and senses. But he whose conduct is uniformly good is a Bráhmaṇ and if it be otherwise he is a Shúdra, aye, lower than a Shúdra. The Shudra who, on the other hand, possesses these virtues is a Brahman.

Oh, Yudhishthira! If a Shudra be superior to the allurements of the five senses to give him charity is a virtue that will be rewarded in heaven. Heed not his caste, but only mark his qualities. Whoever in this life ever does well and is ever ready to benefit others, spending his days and nights in good acts, such an one is a Brahman, and whoever, relinquishing worldly ways, employs himself solely in the

* The word in the original is *Tapas* which we are accustomed to translate penance, and I have followed the usage, though asceticism would be a better word. The proud *Tapas* whom the very gods regard with dread never dreams of contrit or repentance.

acquisition of Moksha, such an one also is a Bráhmaṇ, and whoever refrains from destruction of life, and from worldly affections and evil acts, and is free from passion and backbiting, such an one also is a Bráhmaṇ and whoso possesses *kṣama* [forgiveness], *dayá* [mercy], *dama* [subjection of the passions], *dána* [liberality] *satiya* [truthfulness] *shauchana* [purity], *smṛiti* [knowledge of law], *ghṛīṇa* [tenderness], *vidyá* [learning] and *vijnána* [discernment] etc. is a Bráhmaṇ. Oh Yudhishtira if a person perform the Bráhmachárya for one night, the merit of it is greater than that of a thousand sacrifices (Yajna) And whoso has read all the Vedas, and performed all the *Śruti*s and observed all the commands and prohibitions of the *Śástra*, such an one is a Bráhmaṇ and whoso has never injured a sentient thing by act, word, or thought, such a person shall instantly be absorbed (at his death) in Bráhma. Such were the words of Vaishampayana. Oh my friend, my design in the above discourse is that all ignorant Bráhmaṇs and others should acquire wisdom by studying it, and take to the right way. Let them, if they approve it, heed it and if they approve it not, let them neglect its admonitions.

Of the time of the production of this curious and pungent tract, it is difficult to form an opinion. Mr Hodgson says, "Who Ashva Ghoshá, the author, was, *when* he flourished and *where*, I cannot ascertain. All that is known of him at Nepal is that he was a Mitha-Pandit or great sage, and wrote, besides the little treatise now translated, two larger Bauddha works of high repute, the names of which are mentioned in a note." * Burnouf asks whether Ashva Ghoshá was the celebrated devotee, whose name is rendered in Chinese by *Ma ming* (the voice of a horse), and who according to the Japanese Encyclopedia, was the twelfth Buddhist patriarch after the death of Shakyá Muni, or some more modern devotee of the same.

* Buddhist Charitra Kavya, and the Nandi Mukhasangraha: Avadana, and other works. Hodgson's Ill. of Lit. and Rel. of the Buddhists, pp. 193 f.

name * I am inclined to believe that the work has been long known, to a greater or less extent, even on the continent of India. Mr Wilkinson obtained his copy of it from a Bráhmaṇ of the town of Nasik, at Bhopál in Central India. The Rev Dr Glasgow lately sent me a catalogue of a deceased Brahman's library offered for private sale. I observed in it an entrance—"The *Vajra Shúchi*", and having asked this tract, and obtained it, through the kindness of my learned friend, I find that it professes to be the composition of the celebrated Shankara Acharya (of the eighth century of the Christian era), the copy having been made, in Samvat 1845—A D 1730. The first part of this Brahmanic treatise is a brief memoriter summary of the argument of the Buddhist tract, as will appear from the following literal translation which I make of it

Here the *Vajra Shúchi* [the Adamantine Needle] is written. Hari ! Om ! I begin to publish the Adamantine Needle, the piercer of the ignorance of the *Shástra*, the stigma of the destitute of knowledge, the ornament of the intelligent. That the Bráhmaṇ is the chief of the four castes (*Varna*) the Bráhmaṇ, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shúdra, is declared in the Vedas, and is set forth by the Smritis. And thus is the beginning. What is that which is called a Bráhmaṇ ? Is it life (*jīva*) ? Is it body (*deha*) ? Is it birth (*yāti*) ? Is it colour (*varna*) ? Is it learning (*panditya*) ? Is it religion (*dharma*) ? Is it liberality (*dharmakya*) ? Is it works (*karma*) ? These are the eight objections (brought forward)

First suppose that Life is the thing. Then, it being so the form of life being the same in all men, life cannot be the Bráhmaṇ.

And, again, suppose the Bráhmaṇ to be Body. Then from the disease and mortality apparent in the body of all men down to the Chandala, it is evident that body cannot be the Bráhmaṇ. Again, if body be the Brahman, then from the concretion of the bodies

* Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien : pp 215-16

of fathers and mothers by sons, the son of Brahmacide would attach itself to them. Wherefore body cannot be the Brāhman.

And suppose Colour to be the Brāhman (and that it is the case that) the Brāhman is of white colour, the Kshatriya is of red colour the Vaishya is of yellow colour, the Shūdra is of black colour * then from the appearance of the mixture of colour among all the classes including that of the Brahmins it is evident that colour is not the Brahman.

Again suppose Works to be the Brahman. According to this, the Brāhman of white colour lives (or would live) a hundred years the Kshatriya, the half (of this number fifty years) the Vaishya, the half (of this number twenty five years) and the Shudra, the half (of this number, twelve and a half years). From there being no such rule, it is evident that work constitutes not the Brahman.

Again, suppose Birth to be the Brāhman. Then there are many great Rishis who have been of strange birth. Rishyashringa was born of a deer. Kaushika was from a stalk of the Kusha-grass (*Poa Cynosuroides*). Gautama was (born) from the back of a hair. Valmika (was born) from an ant-hill, Vyasa (was born from) the daughter of a fisherman (*Kawartala*). Vasishtha (was born) of a Vaishya woman. Vishvamitra (was born) of a Kshatriya female. Agasthi was born from a water jar, Mandikya was born from the flower of the Manduka (*Bignonia indica*). Mātanga was the son of a Matanga (a low tribe). Parashara [the father of Vyasa] was born from a female Chandala. Nuada was the son of a Dasa — so it is set forth in the Puranas. These parties on account of their distinguished knowledge obtained Brāhmanhood and pre-eminence, though without birth, as certainly reported.

Again, if Learning be supposed to constitute Brahmanhood it is found that there are many Kshatriyas Vaishyas, and Shudras, etc. who have great knowledge of categories (*padārth*) and logical processes (*vākya pramāṇa*), and that consequently learning does not constitute the Brahman.

Again if Religion be supposed to constitute the Brahman there are many Kshatriyas Vaishyas and Shudras etc. who have in religious observance performed meritorious works (*śrī tapurta*) and consequently Religion does not constitute the Brahman.

This alleged diversity of colour in the four main Castes is noticed in the *Mahābhārata* at 1. 63. 1. See also *Muraṭi* at 1 p. 40.

Again if Liberality be supposed to constitute the Brahman, there are many Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras, who have given gifts of daughters, gifts of cows gifts of gold gifts of she buffaloes and therefore liberality does not constitute the Brahman

What then [constitutes the Bráhmaṇa]? He who sees the import of Bráhma as clearly as one who holds [the fruit of the] A malaka in his hand and who is without lust, anger hatred, etc [and has] quiet and self-restraint and from whom pleasure pride envy, desire folly, and other evil affections are removed, is declared to be a Bráhmaṇa. A Shudra by birth becoming a Brahmacharya is declared to be a *dīya* (one twice born), by practice in the Vedas, he becomes a *Vipra* (an intelligent one) and by the knowledge of Brahma, he becomes a *Brahman* *

This reasoning is in substance that of the Buddhist Vajra Shuchi. The tract proceeds to dispose of the representations now quoted on the usual principles of the Vedantists,—not disparaging the caste of the Brahmans but holding the knowledge of Brahma to be essential to its perfection. It appears to me that its author thus ingeniously seeks to weaken the Buddhist argument, which must have been current in the country before he considered it expedient to interfere with it.

And here it is proper to observe that though the Vaishnava Brahmans—the modern sectarian followers of Vishnu—have most absurdly alleged that Buddha was a descent (*avatāra*), and the Shaiva Bráhmaṇs,—the sectarian followers of Shiva—that he was a personal manifestation (*rupadhāna*) of Vishnu,† effected for the

* Shankara Acharya variorum y-n upanishat subodhanya: Vajra Shuchi pp 14

† Then in the course of the Kali (Yuga) for distressing the enemies of the Suras (gods) he will be born among the Kikatas, as Buddha, the son of Anyura. Bhagavata Purana, 1.3.24. See passages of a similar kind referred to in Kennedy on Ancient and Hindu Mythology p 230

purpose of destroying the merit of a righteous king whose worth they allege came into depressing competition with that of the gods themselves, they have all along rightly interpreted the principles of Buddhism while strenuously opposing them

In the interesting Nataka or Play, entitled the *Mrichchhakatika* or Toy Cart attributed to king Sudraka and supposed by Professor H H Wilson to have been composed about a century before the Christian era, a Shramanaka or Buddhist mendicant, is represented as thus singing —

Be virtue, friends, your only store,
And restless appetite restrain
Beat meditation's drum and sore
Your watch against each sense maintain
The thief that still in ambush lies
To make devotion's wealth his prize

Cast the five senses all away
That trample o'er the virtuous will
The pride of self importance slay
And ignorance remorseless kill
So shall you save the body guard,
And Heaven shall be your last reward

Why shave the head and mow the chin
While bristling follies choke the breast
Apply the knife to parts within
And heed not how deformed the rest
The heart of pride and passion weed,
And then the man is pure indeed *

* Wilson's Hindu Theatre vol. 1. p. 122. The spirit of the original passage (see Stenzler's text p. 112) is here preserved though considerable freedom has been used in the translation.

The party thus chaunting with Buddhistical propriety who is represented as originally a *Samvāhaka*,—a body servant, or gambler, is also set forth as saying when about to leave his original work, “Lady on account of the disgrace of this gambling profession I will become a *Shakya Shramanaka*, * thus intimating the motive, by which according to the Buddhist social reform parties of the lower castes of the Hindus were often influenced in their assumption of Buddhist mendicancy. A similar motive is that by which many parties of the lower castes of the Hindus are influenced when they join the religious orders of the present day.

In the *Kāshī Khanda* of the *Skanda Purana*, devoted to the *Shaiva* form of Hinduism, the following are said to be the Buddhist teachings of *Vishnu*—responding to the call of *Shiva*, to adopt measures for effecting the injury of the righteous reign of king *Divodasa*, whose merit prevented the return of *Shiva* to his own city *Kāshī*—

“This order of things (*sansara*) is eternally manifest (that is has no beginning) (to it) there is neither creator nor creation. It is self-existent, and self-extinguished. From *Brahmā* to a (vegetable) spike everything is confined in a bodily form. The soul (*Ātmā*) and God (*Ishvara*) are identical they are not two for *Brahmā*, *Vishnu* and *Indra*, etc. are merely nominal distinctions, as we are denominated *Punya-kṛti*,† etc. As at our natural time our bodies perish, so (other) bodies, from *Brahmā* to a fly, perish at their natural

* In the *Prākṛita* of the play, the original is अञ्जु भार्गव इति ज्ञाते भलावमाणेण शकदशमणेन क्विदिश being in *Sanskṛita* अञ्जुके अहमेतेन दूतकरा कमानेन शाक्यश्रमणको भविष्यामि. See the carefully edited text of Stenzler pp 39 40 195

† The name said to be assumed by *Vishnu* when he set to the propagation of heresy.

time. On a proper view (of matters) there is no superiority of bodies. Eating, copulating, sleeping and fear are common to all. Satisfaction in eating is common to all, without any superiority or inferiority. Thirst is the consequence to all of refraining from drinking. Suppose there are hundreds of horses their use to sit on is the same to all (that is only one at a time is available for sitting on). The pleasure experienced by sleeping on couches is the same as if we were sleeping on the floor. As we ourselves possessed of bodies fear death, so all from Brahmā to an insect fear death alike. If we consider aright, we shall see that all wearing bodies are alike. And having so inquired, it is established that there should be no slaughter of any one (living being) (at any time) or at any place. There is no religion in the world like tenderness to life (*pradaya*) wherefore men ought by all means to practise tenderness to life. He who preserves a single life, is as if he had preserved the three worlds, and he who kills one (life) is as if he had destroyed the three worlds wherefore let there be preserving and not killing. That refraining from killing is the supreme duty (*paramodharma*), is said by the learned (*śūtras*) of old. Wherefore, whoever has the fear of hell should avoid killing. There is no sin in the three worlds like slaughter. The killer goes to hell, the non-killer goes to heaven (*svarga*). There are other offerings, but their fruits are very small. The offering (*dāna*) freeing from fear is manifestly the greatest in the three worlds. There are four gifts enjoined by the great Rishis, on the inspection of the Śāstras they are seen to be productive of advantage in the present life and that which is to come.—giving confidence to the terrified, giving medicine to the suffering, giving learning to the ignorant, and giving food to the hungry. (Moreover), the power in gems, mantras, medicines, is to be reckoned extremely great. Wherefore men traffic among them by various expedients, and acquire wealth. Having acquired wealth, continue to worship at the twelve shrines, for without wealth there is no other way of worship. The twelve good (shrines) are the five organs of sensation, the five faculties of sensation, the intellectual faculty (*manā*), and intelligence (*buddhi*). Heaven and hell are in these twelve and nowhere else. Pleasure is said to be heaven, and pain to be hell. If the body die while enjoying pleasure, this is deliverance (*moksha*). This is the excellent deliver-

ance, there is no other deliverance whatsoever. The total destruction of desire and pain is in the highest sense the excellent deliverance (*vynāno-paramomoksha*) this is to be understood by the perceivers of distinctions. This is the Shruti spoken by the learned in the Védas — There is to be no killing of any living beings, (the sacrificial Rich beginning with) *Agnishoma* begets bewilderment to pure persons, for to intelligent ones there is no authority to its making the destruction of animals. That the cutting of trees the slaughtering of animals, the making the ground red with the burning of oil-giving plants and clarified butter, lead to the attainment of heaven is surprising *

The doctrines propagated by the Buddhists,—those of the eternal existence of the universe, of the negation of a Creator and a creation, of the identity of soul in all existing forms, of the natural course of growth and decay and pleasure and pain, of the universality of the fear of birth and death among sentient beings, of the great virtue of the preservation of life even in its lowest forms, of the evil of animal sacrifice and the destruction of vegetable growth,—are all here plainly set forth. It is only the doctrine of spirit involved in the passage quoted, however, which can be applied to the mitigation of the pride of caste. Very precise on this subject are the teachings in the context put into the mouth of Lakshmi, the spouse of Vishnu, who under the name of *Vynāna Kāumudī* is thus made to hold forth, after alluding to the propriety of enjoying bodily pleasures, which is no peculiar tenet of the Buddhists —“ The thirteen beautiful daughters of Daksha were married to Krishyapa, the son of Marichi (the brother of Daksha). People of small understanding of the present time consider that such a kind of marriage

is fit, and yet not fit. The four castes are produced from the mouth, arm, thigh, and foot this was the false imagination of olden times. How can four sons produced from the same body be of separate castes? (High) caste and low caste (*varna avarna*) are not to be thought of. Distinctions among men are not to be taken cognizance of by any one at any time or at any place.*

Only one explanation regarding the Buddhist view of Caste remains to be made. Though it is evident both from the testimony of the Buddhists themselves and of their enemies the Brahmans, that they opposed Caste as far as they were able according to the exigencies of the times in which they lived, they actually, as a matter of policy, often winked at its existence in Indian society. While it was not carried by them into foreign countries, it was tolerated, though disparaged, by them wherever they found they had been preceded by Aryan rule. They invented, too, in connexion with it their own legend. All this is abundantly evident from what we find to be the state of matters in regard to the island of Ceylon. Mr. Tolfrey, in the Appendix to Lord Valentia's Travels, says, "The epoch in which we now are is called (by the Buddhist-) the Mahabhadda Kâpa, previous to which a thousand millions of millions of worlds (*sahasals*) have been destroyed. Living creatures were regenerated, however, in the higher regions, and became Brahmas without

* *Kashi Khanda*, ii 38, 109-123 (MS fol. 36). The legend of Divadusa and Buddha, as found in this work, is, in substance given by Vans Kennedy in his *Researches in Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, pp. 428-431. See also Author's *First Exposure of Hinduanism*, pp. 137-140.

any distinction of caste. Some of these Brahmas returned to the world, 'which they formerly inhabited, on their being reproduced, but from avarice degenerated to such a degree that they began to steal. Upon this, quarrels arose among them, and there being no chief to decide these disputes their wise men reflected that the world would not be in a proper state without some kind of government. Upon this they selected from among them a person renowned for wisdom, whom they appointed to be their king, saying to him, 'Thou art our king, we will give to thee one-tenth part of the substance we may acquire, be thou a judge, and a ruler over us.' This king was called *Maha Sammata* a compound word, which signifies a great assembly [rather one elected by many], to indicate that he had been chosen by the consent of many people.* The statements made by Mr Spence Hardy agree with this condensed view of the Buddhist theory of the origin of the principal Castes. The king, he tells us, was called a *Khatayo* or *Kshatriya*, the Brahmas, who concurred in the suppression of impious proceedings, were called *Brahmanas*, those who acquired wealth *Vessá*, or *Vaishyas*, and those who were addicted to hunting *Sudda*, or *Shudras*† Several lists of Castes or professions are given by Mr Tolfrey. Their denominations are principally derived from the Sanskrit, and are similar to those contained in the Indian lists which we have already inserted. They are said to have been constituted in order to serve the four superior Castes.

* Lord Valentia's Travels, iii p 488 9

† Manual of Buddhism, p 66

The destruction of Buddhism by Brahmanism under caste influence I shall afterwards have occasion to notice. I conclude this chapter by remarking that the Jamas who are only Buddhist Seceders, take exactly the same view of Caste as their speculative progenitors. Their Yatus or Jatis and other religionists in the West of India, continually assail Caste by such arguments as we find in the *Vajra Shuchi* of Ashva Ghoshā.

VIII — A PEEP AT INDIAN SOCIETY BY THE GREEKS

India is emphatically the land of mystery. It has been a land of mystery from the earliest ages to the present hour. It has been a land of mystery to distant strangers, to friendly and hostile visitors, and even to its own inhabitants. Scarcely any other country of the world is to be compared to it in this respect. Egypt, with its hieroglyphic and hieratic characters and its esoteric doctrines, had its records and gigantic works palpable to all, which declared the grand outlines of its history, even back to the remotest ages. Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, though long obscure to their neighbours, did not conceal their history from their own people, but even stamped much of it on bricks and cylinders, and graved much of it on permanent tablets and on rocks, to be read by all men. The closed land of China, though jealous of foreign intrusion, has always patronized an open literature for the benefit of its own sons as well as preserved and published the results of the thought and research of its numerous moralists, economists, and recorders. India alone has striven to keep itself in obscurity.

and darkness. It had its poets in the early ages of the world, but they composed, and sang and recited, principally for themselves and the gods of their invention and recognition. It had its priests, more numerous perhaps than those of any other country but they kept their knowledge within their own circle making of it an entire monopoly. It had its thinkers and wise men, but their lips did not disperse knowledge but enjoined the preservation of it as a body of secrets to be communicated only to particular classes of men, and amongst these only to the disciplined and initiated. It had its princes who patronized its bards and eulogists but these princes encouraged these bards and eulogists to deal with flatteries and fables and not with facts and principles. It had its peculiar *itihāsa*, but this, speaking generally, was simply a licensed fiction, a dogmatic assertion that matters (in their incongruities and puerilities beyond the sphere of rational belief) were *said to be so and so*, without reference to their real origin and circumstantialities. It contented itself with bare genealogical tables which make no distinction between the divine the heroic and the human and into which were thrust apocryphal additions whenever new power or dynasty, however obscure, was anxious to invent and claim the prestige of antiquity. When these tables necessarily referred to later times they were actually set forth as in the Bhagavata, Viṣṇu, and other *śrāna*s not as chronicles of the past, but as prophecies of the future. Its own progress and development it neither observed nor recorded. The only

violent hand of sectarianism, as in the case of Buddhism and other attempts to modify or change its general creed. It even kept aloof, after its early ages from commerce and communion with neighbouring nations, which its own sons were forbidden to visit on pain of religious deprivation.

It is the fact that India has thus not spoken for herself that gives such a great interest to the notices taken of it in connexion with the nations and tribes which by visiting its shores sought to carry its productions to distant lands, and to the observations made on the borders of its territories or within its own boundaries by those who have sought to acquire its sovereignty or to maintain with it a good understanding in connexion with their neighbouring colonies. This interest is now enhanced tenfold, when the vast and non-reviewed literature of India is in all its departments in this critical age, passing into the hands of those who are competent to observe its indications to interpret its spirit and to cast the light which it yields on the path of its past advancement and on the present state of its society, and its physical condition.

From all the people of antiquity brought into contact with India we should expect the most from the Greeks. They had a cultivated intelligence and a curious and except as modified by an inordinate tribal pride feelings of catholicity connected with all that could be characterized as an approximation to civilization. It was among them that the historical faculty properly so called was first developed in extent and comprehensiveness and laborious research. History (*ιστορία*),—learning or

knowing by inquiry, and the knowledge or information so obtained—was their own word and the improvement of the historical faculty was their own glory. They belonged to the same great race from which the dominant Indians the Aryans had sprung. Their forefathers with those of these Aryas, had long been members of the same family and community and had had the same social connexions, the same speech, the same gods, and the same religion. The questions at once occur, when we realize their intercommunion in subsequent times,—Did the Greeks recognize their remote but close relationship with the Aryas? did they perceive in India the many elements of their common speech? did they discover the identity or analogous position of the Grecian and Indian gods? did they see how the tribes migrating to the west and those moving to the south or south-east had with marked peculiar diversities of occupation and development, certain things in common? did they note the peculiarities of India and contrast them with those of their own country? These and other similar questions can be answered only by a careful collation of, and attention to the fragments of their accounts of India which remain, and the comparison of them with what we know of India itself and find in its literary remains. By a similar process we answer the inquiries Do the Greek accounts illustrate the Indian literature, and Does the Indian literature illustrate the Greek accounts? Both series of questions will be answered in part at least, as we proceed with this section of our volume.

The first Greek author who mentions India by name I need scarcely mention is Herodotus the father of

profane history* He was born at Halicarnassus in Caria about the year B C 484, and he probably lived to an advanced age He had intimate connexions at various times with Greece and the Greek colonies, and he was a great traveller in Europe, the North of Africa and the West of Asia He had, for his day, a comprehensive view of the objects of history Herodotus of Halicarnassus,† he says, “publishes his researches in order to prevent the achievements of men from fading in the oblivion of time, and lest the great and admirable exploits both of Greeks and Barbarians should fail of their due renown He also proposes to explain the occasions of the wars which have been carried on between them † The wars before him were specially those of the Greeks and Persians It is in connexion with these wars that he notices the circumstances of the various peoples which were affected by them The course of his history, which he dedicates to the Muses, properly commences with the time (B C 546) when Cyrus the founder of the Persian empire conquered the Lydian kingdom of Cræsus, and extends to the capture of Sestos (B C 478) when the Greeks triumphed over the Persians It is in connexion with his enumeration and description of the satrapies of Darius that he notices India, both as included in these satrapies and exterior to them He had not personally visited India, his travels to the East having terminated in Mesopotamia or the Persian provinces contiguous to that country There can be but little doubt that he had

* Perhaps India was included in the Ethiopia of Homer (Od. 2924)

† Herodotus, Chio, 1

intercourse with parties who had seen India or made it the subject of inquiry with those who had visited its border provinces. The information which he gives respecting it though brief, and not to be received without criticism, is nevertheless of a valuable character.

Of geographical discoveries and acquisition of territory in India by Darius Herodotus thus writes —“The greater part of [the unknown] Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. This king wishing to know on what part of the coast the Indus meets the sea—a river which after the Nile is the only one [then known] that produces crocodiles, sent ships with persons on whose fidelity and truth he could rely, and among these was Scylax of Caryandea. These setting out from Caspatyrus, a city of Pactyica, descended the river in its course towards the East (?) till they reached the sea.” “After this voyage had been accomplished, Darius subdued the Indians, and frequented that sea (the Indian Ocean)*. The origin of this voyage must have been on the Kabul affluent of the Indus—the Kophen or *Kubha*. Pactyica, (the country in which it commenced) is recognizable in the name of a people, with whom we are all familiar, found in that locality to the present day, I mean the *Palhtus* or Pathians. Speaking of the twentieth satrapy of Darius established through this conquest, Herodotus further says —“The Indians a people much more numerous than any that is known contributed a sum proportionately larger than that of any other division, for they paid three hundred and sixty talents of gold

dust. * We have not to suppose from this notice that the empire of Darius extended over all the country now comprehended under the name of India. It embraced, there is reason to believe only the country contiguous to the banks of the Indus and the territory lying on the Persian side of the Hindu Caucasus. This is evident from what is afterwards added by Herodotus — ‘The eastern part of India is a desert of sand and of all the nations known to us or of which we possess any certain information, the Indians are the furthest toward the East, being on that side the first people of Asia for the sands render the country beyond them towards the east uninhabitable. † The great desert here referred to is supposed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson to be that lying to the north of the Himalaya between that range and the Szechuan Chan Range ‡ Major Rennell supposes that it may apply to the country between the lower part of the Indus and Rajputana. § It is evident that Herodotus had not been exactly informed of the peninsula of India stretching into the Indian ocean though he speaks in the progress of his narrative of a people resembling Ethiopians in the tint of their skin, whose country was a long way from Persia (that is the Persian dominions) towards the south.

India is the only satrapy which Herodotus represents as paying its tribute in gold. The sum which he specifies as yielded by it is very large, being four and a half times as much in value as that yielded by the opulent satrapy of Babylonia and Assyria. The region from which the gold was procured is indicated by him, it is

* Herod. iii. 14

† Ib. iii. 98

‡ See Rawlinson's Herod.

§ Rennell's Geo. of Herod. p. 109

believed, with accuracy ‘There are other Indians not far distant from the city Caspatyrus, and the region Pactyica “The mode of life followed by these is similar to that of the Bactrians They are the most warlike of all the Indians, and it is these who furnish the gold * The northern portions of this district embracing the lofty ranges of the Hindu Kush, the Belur-Tagh and Mus-Tagh Altai and other places near the sources of the Oxus and Kabul Indus are said to ‘abound with the precious metal This portion of country is I think referred to in the book of Genesis,—in connexion with the seat of the garden of Eden and the rivers of paradise A river (or watershed, *panalot*, or water-roll in the Indian languages as I venture to interpret it) went out of Eden, to water the garden (probably an extended district), and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads (for actual drainage) The name of the first is *Pishon* (or the *Shon* or Indus in this quarter *Pi* the first syllable of the word, as I have elsewhere conjectured † being the Egyptian definite article, and *Shon* being the Egyptian name of the *Sindhu* or Indus) that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah (the Carapilla of the Indians, as thought by Professor Lassen), where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good there is bdolach and the onyx stone And the name of the second river is Gihon (admitted by all geographers to be the Oxus) the same is it that compassed the whole of Cush (translated Ethiopia) ‡ The region, I believe with others, furnished the gold of the

* Herod iii 98

† India Three Thousand Years Ago

‡ Gen ii 10 17

Solomonic commerce, referred to in the books of Kings and Chronicles, which was exported from ports on the Indus, in the province denominated by Ptolemy *Abiria* and by the Periplus, *Sabiria* and *Iberia*,—the land of the *Abhuas* the Indian Ophir *

The account given by Herodotus of the method of the acquisition of the gold referred to has afforded much amusement since his day, though it has been substantially repeated by some of his successors

Here in this desert (that is the sandy desert already mentioned) there live amid the sand great ants, in size somewhat less than dogs, but bigger than foxes. The Persian King has a number of them which have been caught by the hunters in the land whereof we are speaking. These ants make their dwellings under ground and like the Greek ants which they very much resemble in shape throw up sand heaps as they burrow. Now the sand which they throw up is full of gold. The Indians, when they go into the desert to collect this sand, take three camels and harness them together—a female in the middle and a male on either side in a leading rein. The rider sits on the female and they are particular to choose for the purpose one that has but just dropped her young for the female camels can run as fast as horses, while they bear burdens very much better. When the Indians therefore have thus equipped themselves they set off in quest of the gold calculating the time so that they may be engaged in seizing it during the most sultry part of the day when the ants hide themselves to escape the heat. When the Indians reach the place where the gold is they fill their bags with the sand, and ride away at their best speed. The ants, however scenting them as the Persians say, rush forth in pursuit. Now these animals are so swift they declare, that there is nothing in the world like them if it were not therefore that the Indians get a start while the ants are mustering, not a single gold

* See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii p. 339. Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 3. 3), and many of the Christian Fathers made the Pishon, the Ganges.

gatherer could escape. During the flight the male camels which are not so fleet as the females grow tired, and begin to drag first one and then the other, but the females recollect the young which they have left behind and never give way or flag. Such according to the Persians is the manner in which the Indians get the greater part of their gold, some is dug out of the earth, but of this the supply is scanty *.

In this narrative there are doubtless proofs both of imposition practised upon Herodotus by his informers, and of the simplicity and credulity of the historian. Even in its absurdities, however, heightened though they have been by the fears of the gold-finders lest their occupation should be interfered with by interlopers there is a substratum of truth. The late Professor Horace Hayman Wilson is of opinion that the story may have arisen from the fact that the gold found in the plains of little Thibet is commonly called Pippilika or "ant" gold, from the belief that the colonies of ants, by their wonted operations are instrumental in bringing the gold to view. A better conjecture, in my opinion, has been made than this. It is that the animal which is said to burrow in the sands is the Pengolin, or ant eater (the *Manis crassicaudata*), called by the natives of the Maráthá Country the Kauvali manjar (or tiled cat). The habits of this animal in burrowing in the sands are well known, and it is abundant in many places of India. It is one of the most remarkable of the Edentata mammals, and as its familiars are not recognized by the natives of India they give very fabulous accounts of its powers and capacities, especially of its alleged ability to kill a man by the sweep of its tail which bears a greater proportion to the

size of its trunk than is found in any other quadruped. In certain of its aspects, as looked at by the rude children of nature it has some resemblance to an ant. It is so curious altogether that it is not unlikely that specimens of it may have been sent to the king of Persia. It is a mistake of our countrymen in India, to say that food cannot be provided for it in a state of captivity. I nourished a specimen of it for a couple of months by giving it milk and eggs, and it died only in consequence of a fall which it had of about twenty feet.

Of the tribes of India, Herodotus remarks that they are "numerous, and that 'they do not all speak the same language.' The Aryan conquerors of India, who spoke the Vedic language (called Sanskrita when afterwards it had the benefit of grammatical culture), were not, as we have seen in former parts of this work, the first immigrants into India. They found that they had been preceded not only by tribes remotely cognate with themselves but by many Scythian, Turanian, and Hamitic tribes, whose languages they but little understood. About the time of Herodotus the Sanskrit was about to cease to be a spoken language. Such of the tribes of India as laid aside their own Turanian dialects, had then formed a great many provincial dialects, in their attempts to make themselves intelligible to the dominant people. This diversity of language was not unknown even in what must have been the Persian India. There are several Indus dialects (as there are great diversities of tribes) on the banks of that river even in the present day. It is an extremely curious fact that the language of the Brahmins, a people there to be found, is cognate not so

much with the languages of Northern as with those of Southern India

Of a certain tribe or class on the banks of the Indus Herodotus says —“ They who dwell in the marshes along the river, live on raw fish which they take in boats made of reeds, each formed out of a single joint These Indians wear a dress of sedge which they cut in the river and bruise, afterwards they weave it into mats, and wear it as we wear a breast plate” Rude Ichthyophagi of this character have been associated with many countries but partially known Some have supposed that the reed out of which their boats were constructed were bambus, but the fabrication of boats from a single joint of a bambu was impossible

“ Eastward of these Indians our author goes on to say, “are another tribe called Padœans who are wanderers, and live on raw flesh This tribe is said to have the following customs —If one of their number be ill, man or woman, they take the sick person, and if he be a man, the men of his acquaintance proceed to put him to death, because they say his flesh would be spoilt for them if he pined and wasted away with sickness The man protests he is not ill in the least but his friends will not accept his denial—in spite of all he can say they kill him, and feast themselves on his body So also if a woman be sick, the women who are her friends take her and do with her exactly the same as the men If one of them reaches to old age about which there is seldom any question, as commonly before that time they have had some disease or other, and so have been put to death—but if a man notwithstanding comes to be old, then they

offer him in sacrifice to their gods and afterwards eat his flesh

On the cannibalism here referred to, the following note is given in Rawlinson's lately published translation of Herodotus—a work of great merit and generally edited with critical carefulness and accuracy. The same Custom (of cannibalism) is said to have prevailed among the Massagetæ and the Issidomans, and a similar one is mentioned by Strabo as existing among the Caspians and the Derbices. Marco Polo found the practice in Sumatra in his own day. “The people of Dragonin he says ‘observe this horrible custom in cases where any member of their family is afflicted with a disease. The relations of the sick person send for the magicians whom they require on examination of the symptoms to declare whether he will recover or not. If the decision be that he cannot, the relations then call in certain men whose peculiar duty it is and who perform their business with dexterity, to close the mouth until he is suffocated. This being done they cut the body in pieces in order to prepare it as victuals and when it has been so dressed the relations assemble and in a convivial manner eat the whole of it not leaving so much as the marrow in the bones. According to some modern writers (Lippinstone's *Cubul* vol. 1 p. 15, 2nd ed.) cannibalism continues in the countries bordering on the Indus to the present day.”

To this I would add that the word *Pala* may perhaps have been derived from the Indian *Pahach* or mountain trincera against whom the charge of cannibalism is not yet extinct, even in parts more to the east and south than

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meagre, notices of India found
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Herodotus, when Alexander then
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from its borders, which are some
Pliny and Plutarch, have long
close wearing his name addressed

time Let India look to itself as well as devote its enterprising officers to the work of African discovery

The antipodes of the cannibals with Herodotus were the parties who entirely abstained from animal food. "There is another set of Indians, he says whose customs are very different They refuse to put any live animal to death, they sow no corn, and have no dwelling houses Vegetables are their only food There is a plant which grows wild in their country, bearing seed about the size of a millet-seed in a calyx, they went to gather this seed and having boiled it, calyx and all, to use it for food If one of them is attacked with sickness he goes forth into the wilderness, and lies down to die, no one has the least concern either for the sick or for the dead Herodotus wrote about the times of the Buddhists but even before then day great tenderness to animal life had been developed in India as a consequence of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which however is not to be found in the Vedas, which in many places exemplify the use of animal food, even of that of the cow afterwards so sacred throughout the country The first limitation as to animal food with which I am acquainted is in by far the most modern of the Vedas, the Atharvana. It occurs in a command (already referred to) not to kill the 'medible cows of the Brahmans, and seems to have in view only the preservation of their pets * The avoidance of the use of the cereals by the vegetarians hinted at by Herodotus is explained partly by the injunctions in Manu against the destruction of seeds the germs of life as exemplified in the complaints made against

vegetarians, scrupulously avoiding corn, does not appear. The dying in the wilderness without the care of friends may have a reference to the case of the *Vanaprasthas*, whom we have already noticed in this work.

The informers of Herodotus respecting India were certainly not friendly to its diversified tribes and tongues, if they had opportunities of actually observing their social state. "All the tribes I have mentioned," he says, "live together like the brute beasts." They were mistaken, too, when they said that all the tribes of India "had the same tint of skin, which approaches that of the Ethiopians." This language requires to be very considerably qualified even when it is applied to the more southern tribes, which Herodotus must have heard of in the general, for he adds, "Their country is a long way from Persia towards the south, nor had king Darius ever any authority over them."

We have thus exhausted the general, and somewhat meagre, notices of India found in Herodotus. Nothing more of this country worthy of attention was learned by the Greeks till about one hundred and fifty years after Herodotus, when Alexander the Great, in his attempt to subdue the Persian empire to the dominion of Macedon, reached its northern borders. A great flood of light was doubtless then thrown on India, revealing its peculiarities to intelligent inquirers, but it has been only dimly reflected to us in the present day. The body of information obtained respecting it was soon lost for historical purposes. The letters of Alexander himself, sent from its borders, which are sometimes referred to by Pliny and Plutarch, have long ago disappeared, while those bearing his name, addressed to his tutor Aristotle,

bear evident marks of forgery. The writings of Callisthenes, who was taken to the East by Alexander to write his history, have also perished. We know of Clitarchus another of Alexander's followers, only from a few references made to him by Plutarch and others. Orthagoras, who is said to have written nine books about Indian affairs, is not even quoted by Alexander's historians. Nearchus the admiral of Alexander's fleet, wrote a history of his own movements, but we have not his work to compare it with the charges made against it by Strabo in his Geography, and by Arrian in his Expedition of Alexander. Arrian himself—who was a disciple of Epictetus and flourished in the reign of the Emperor Adrian,—is our chief authority respecting the observations and deeds of Alexander and his army in India, though interesting gleanings are to be got from Strabo, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus and others.

Alexander's march from Bactria to the Indus, as described by Arrian,* is interesting principally in a geographical point of view. Attempts have been made, with considerable success to reduce the names of places and persons found in it from their Greek to their Indian forms. The result warrants the application to the Greek visitors of India of the remark made by professor H. H. Wilson on our first English surveyors and geographers in India —“It may be doubted if any of them have been conversant with the spoken language of the country they have consequently put down names at random, according to their own inaccurate appreciation of sounds carelessly, vulgarly, and corruptly uttered.”† For

* Arriani Expeditionis libro quarto et seq.

† Vishnu Purana pp 178 9

example, the Greek *Kóphén* (a river) is the *Kubhá*, the *Choe* is the *Khonar*, and the *Gorara* or *Gorceas* is the *Gáuri*. The *Aspasu* are probably connected with *Ashvala*, *Massiga* is *Mashaká*, and *Peucolastis* is *Pushkalavati** It is interesting to notice that Alexander's experience of the courage of the mountaineers must have been somewhat similar to our own. "The Indians of that province," it is said, "far excelled all the other Indians in military exploits," and, after a trial of their mettle, he was glad to engage them as mercenaries, though he soon found, "that they would not fight against other Indians." The cattle of the district attracted his particular attention. "Alexander chose the best and largest (of them), that he might send them into Macedonia for a breed, for they far excelled the Grecian cattle both in bulk and beauty."† "The existence of the vine and ivy in the country and probably the worship of Shiva, the God "of increase," were viewed by the hero and his companions as an indication that it had been visited by Dionysus (or Bacchus). The Greeks were perhaps confirmed in their conjectures about this matter by the Indians, in whose genealogical tables a *Dévanahusha*, a divine personage of the Lunar race makes an early appearance. The Indians begged for the saving of their city *Nysa*, alleging

* To no person are we more indebted for a scientific identification of many of the geographical names connected with the Indian movements of Alexander than to Professor Lassen. See *Indische Alterthumskunde*, II. p. 116 et seq.

† Perhaps the bulk and beauty of some of the breeds of Indian cattle (with their prominently developed dewlaps and humps, which appear represented on the oldest coins,) as well as their utility, may have contributed to their deification by the Bráhmans.

that it had been built by *Dyonysus*, and they got off from a demand for one hundred of their magistrates (their principal Shéts) for three hundred horses, and Alexander's deference to Bacchus, whom it was his desire to excel in the extent of his conquests. Arrian well understood the pretences which were made on both sides in this case, for he says, that "The things which the ancients have published in their fables concerning the Gods, ought not to be too narrowly searched into, for whenever the truth of any story seemed to be liable to be called in question, some God was immediately summoned to their aid, and then all was plain and immediately swallowed. Mount Méru, even, was summoned to give testimony for Bacchus, its name sounding like that of the Greek word *Μῆρor* (the upper part of the thigh), which fitted in with the western legend that Bacchus had been shut up in the thigh of Jupiter. Connected with the remarkable rock *Aornos*, Alexander began to hear of the alleged exploits of a God (Krishna, as we shall afterwards see), whom they identified with their own Hercules. He enjoyed in the contiguous mountains and forests an elephant hunt, a fact which shows the wide dispersion of that gigantic pachyderm in his day.

On arriving at the Indus, probably at Aṭak, Alexander received presents of submission from Taxiles, an Indian prince, so called from an Indian town, *Taksha shilá*, to which he belonged. This prince he did not deprive of his territories when he reached his capital. On the contrary, he enlarged them, though he made Philip, the son of Machetas, governor of the province in his own name. Alexander's passage of the *Hydaspes*

the *Vitastā* of the Indians, was opposed by the patriotic and valiant *Porus*, (or *Puros*,) who probably derived his name from *Pura* a city in general, but given to a capital and its lord in this district by way of distinction according to a usage prevailing to the present day. This was at the summer solstice when the river was at its height, and its passage was effected with great difficulty. Much fighting followed, which issued in the defeat of Porus the death of his two sons and of the governor of the province, and the infliction of wounds on his own person. When Porus came to Alexander to express his submission both his bearing and appearance made a deep impression on the Macedonian conqueror. He was doubtless an excellent representative of the ancient Indian Kshatriyas or Rulers.

The next river passed by Alexander was that of the *Acesines*, the *Asiknī* of the Hindus. In advance he came to the *Hydraotes* or *Rātrī*. Here he heard of a confederation formed against him by certain free Indians and *Cathari* perhaps a Scythian tribe the progenitors of the *Kāthīs* of *Kāthiāwār*, by the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli*, the inhabitants of *Mulāsthana*, or *Multan* of later times. *Sangala*, or *Shakala* near Amritsar, lay on his way to the south-east. He was fired with ambition to extend his conquests beyond the *Hyphasis* or *Vipāsha* of the Indians, but the spirits of his men with the monsoon storms raging around them and powerful enemies before them failing them, he was obliged to terminate his onward march and to return to the *Hydaspes*. By land, and by the river, his forces were conveyed to the junction of the *Hydaspes* and *Acesines*, and afterwards to

that of the Acesines and Indus. An encounter with the Malli and the taking of Multan, which nearly cost Alexander his life were the incidents of this part of his journey. The identification of various places and persons visited, or negotiated with, by his army on the Indus is not a matter of difficulty. The *Orydracæ* were the people of *Uch* to be distinguished from the *Hydracæ* the originals of the *Shudras*, in the neighbouring district and the *Abastani*, probably *Ambáshthas*, whose name appears in various parts of India. The *Xathri*, said to be a free people of India, were doubtless a tribe under the government of the *Kshatriyas*. The *Assadu* were the *Vasati*. The land of *Musicanus* was near the present *Ladl háná*. *Sindomana* the *Sinhara*n of the Brahmans, was the present *Schwan* between Upper and Lower Sindh. *Pattala* at the head of the Delta of the Indus, was the *Patalpuri* of the Brahmans and must have been near Haidarabad, and not at Ghatha as supposed by Principal Robertson*. It is not an object with us at present to notice the perilous journey of Alexander's army through the country of the Gadrosi and other tribes and through Persia to the banks of the Euphrates. As connected with India however we may notice the fact that some of its sages adhered to him during this journey even eating at his table as *Calanus*,—doubtless an Indian *Kalyana*h—who committed voluntary suicide (or *Kamyamarana* forbidden to Brahmans by Manu)† on the

* See Author's Journal of a Missionary Tour in Sindh, in the O. C. S. 1850 p. 397.

† See before p. 25. *Calanus* was probably a *Bhátta* or *Chárana* a eulogist attendant upon kings, like individuals of these classes *Vandanis* (S. *Mandana* as in the name of the author of the *Amara Kosha*) was his companion.

funeral pile, with the ultimate assent and co operation of Alexander himself who reckoned his death the crowning act of his strange philosophy

The information respecting India acquired by the Alexandrine invasion, now briefly referred to, was doubtless very considerable in amount, and interesting in character. It was surpassed, however, in precision and importance by that acquired by Megasthenes, to the fragments of whose writings, as quoted by Strabo, Arrian, and others, we now turn our attention *

The original position of Megasthenes with regard to India has often of late been overlooked. According to his own statement, found in Arrian † he was an attaché to Syburtius governor of the *Arachosii* who inhabited the *Haraqatti* of the Persis (the equivalent of the Sanskrit *Sarasvati*) in eastern Iran ‡. While associated with Syburtius he frequently visited *Sandracottus* (or *Sandracypus*) king of India. Sandracypus, as conjectured by Sir William Jones was the *Chundragupta* of the Hindus the grandfather of the Emperor Ashoka, the great patron of the Buddhists. It was under Seleucus, the successor of Alexander, who had made a treaty with him about portions of territory west of the Indus that Megasthenes visited his court at his capital *Palibothra*, or *Pataliputra*, at the confluence of the *Eranoboas* (or *Shona*) and Ganges, near the modern *Patna*, and which he assures us was eighty furlongs in length and fifteen in breadth, with a ditch thirty cubits deep, and a wall with five hundred and seventy

* These have been collected (but not translated) by Dr Schwanbeck in his *Megasthenis Indica* Bonnæ, 1840

† Arriani lib v cap 6

‡ See before p 61

towers and sixty-four gates * The discovery of a real Indian *datum*, well called by Dr Max Muller the sheet anchor of Indian chronology, ' (the only date which promises in any good degree an adjustment of any portion of our Indian genealogies), is the consequence of this recognition Justin† tells us that Sandracottus had seized the throne of India (from the last of the Nandas, it appears from the Indian account) after the prefects of Alexander had been murdered (317 B C) Seleucus found him sovereign of India when, after the taking of Babylon and the conquest of Bactria, he passed on to India, to make secure arrangements with its emperor It was then he concluded the treaty with him, which must have been before the year 312, for after his return to Babylon, he founded the era which bears his own name, the Seleucidan era It is concluded from this that Chandragupta became king about B C 315 It must have been about the year 312 that Megasthenes first visited his court † It is on the people of India that the information which he communicates to us principally turns

Megasthenes, as is well known, divides the population of India into seven principal divisions or classes (*αἵρη* a word which does not necessarily mean Castes) These are those of the Philosophers the Agriculturists the Shepherds and Hunters, the Artizans, Huxters and Bodily Labourers, the Warriors, the Inspectors, and the Counsellors and Assessors of the king Those who have

* For the identification of Palibothra and Pataliputra, we are indebted to Major Rennell. Robertson's dissent from Rennell (Note xiv to Disquisition) is groundless.

† Justin xv 4

‡ See Max Muller's Hist. of Sans. Lit.

viewed these divisions as indicating Castes, looked to either from a Brahmanical or a Buddhist point of view, have been much puzzled with this classification, for it is really not reconcilable with any specific classification of Castes noticed anywhere in the Indian literature. The classification it appears to me, is either that of Megasthenes himself, or of the political authorities of Palibothra with whom he came in contact. After referring to the Philosophers, as in a position entirely peculiar, it rises from the Husbandman,—whom he views with much regard,—to the Royal Counselors next in authority to the king himself. Notwithstanding this peculiarity of the classification of Megasthenes, the information which his notices of the classes embraced by him afford is of great value, and throws considerable light even on the Caste system prevalent in his day. It is deserving of attention in all its details.

1 Of the *Philosophers* Megasthenes thus writes (I quote from him as cited by Strabo* who is more copious in his quotations than Arrian) —

“Among the classes the first in honour, though in number the smallest, are the philosophers. People who offer sacrifice or perform any sacred rite have the services of those persons on their private account but the kings employ them in a public capacity at the time of what is called the Great Synod where at the time of the new year all the philosophers repair to the king at the gate and any useful thing which they have committed to writing or observed, tending to improve the production of fruits or of animals or of advantage to the order of the state, is then

* Strab. Geog. lib. xv. 1. et seq.

publicly set forth And whoever has been detected in thrice giving false information is enjoined silence by law for the rest of his life, but he who has made correct observations is for the rest of his life exempted from cess and tribute * The employment of the philosophers for sacrifice and domestic religious rites has a plain reference to the Bráhmans and the rites which they were accustomed to celebrate, while the congregating of wise men in annual assemblies seems to point to arrangements of a Buddhist character The observational powers of the Buddhist mendicants, accustomed to visit towns and villages and to travel through the country, would doubtless be greatly developed and improved by the enlargement of their experience, while the state would profit by their annual reports of discovery The arrangements thus acted on, however humble in character, were somewhat similar in principle to those of the British Association in our own day, when there are exchanges of congratulation in the brotherhood of science, and when the public tenders its approbation to those who in science and practical art have successfully laboured for the public good It is curious to observe the discipline of the Indian assemblies, embracing both punishments and rewards Silence for life for false reporters and incorrect observers three times erring (though it may have been limited to a deprivation merely of the right of public speech) was a heavy punishment while exemption from tax and tribute was a great boon bestowed on the lovers of truth and accuracy This exemption was a great improvement of the laws, afterwards embodied in the code of Manu, exempting Brahmanas from all taxation †

* Strab. Geo lib xv l

† See before, p. 39

Megasthenes, I may here mention, in connexion with the Philosophers, refers to those of the mountains (probably worshippers of the mountain god Shiva,) as in favour of the alleged visit of Bacchus to India * He recognizes the inhabitants of the plains, however, as addicted to the worship of Hercules This so-called "Hercules" was undoubtedly the Indian Kṛishna, whose fabulous achievements, so much resembling those of Hercules, were about this time brought to notice, while his worship was only locally prevalent "Hercules," writes Arrian on the authority of Megasthenes, "the Indians tell us was a native of their country He is particularly worshipped by the *Suraseni* [the *Shūrasēnas* of the Hindu literature] who have two great cities belonging to them *Mithoras* [which we cannot fail to identify as *Mathurā*, a favourite residence of Kṛishna] and *Kluso boras*, ' [probably a corruption of the name *Krishnapura*] The district referred to is evidently that of the legends of the Hindus at the time of Megasthenes respecting Kṛishna a modern god whose name is not once mentioned in the ancient Vedas Megasthenes adds respecting Hercules, evidently having Kṛishna in his eye, that 'he took many wives, and begot a great number of sons, though but one daughter whom he named *Pandæa* † a name in which we find an indistinct trace of the Pandava dynasty of the Mahabharata Kṛishna was only a deified king, whose name appears at the close of the Yadu branch of the Lunar race

In treating of the Philosophers, Megasthenes recognizes both the *Brahmans* and the Buddhist *Shramanas* ‡ Megasthenes, says Strabo divides the philosophers into two

* Strab Geo xv l 58

† Arr Hist In cap viii

‡ See before, p 290

kinds the *Brachmanes* and the *Garmanes* * The Brachmanes are held in greater repute, for they agree more exactly in their opinions Even from the time of their conception in the womb they are under the care and guardianship of learned men who go to the mother, and seem to perform some incantation for the happiness and welfare of the mother and the unborn child, but in reality they suggest prudent advice, and the mothers who listen to them most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their offspring After the birth of the children, there is a succession of persons who have the care of them, and as they advance in years masters more able and accomplished succeed. † The Brahmanas he here sets forth as of greater repute than the Shramanakas He represents them as objects of care from their very conception, having probably received some indistinct account of the antenatal *Sanskâras*, or sacraments of the Hindus He seems to have been aware of the formalities of their tutelage under a succession of teachers, according to the Hindu institutes. The self-denial of these philosophers he distinctly notices 'The philosophers' he says "pass their time in a grove of moderate area, living upon straw pallets and on skins, abstaining from animal food, and from sexual intercourse with women, engaging themselves in grave discourses, and communicating with those inclined to listen to them But the hearer is not permitted to speak or to cough or even to spit on the ground otherwise he is expelled that very day from their society as having no control over himself After living thirty seven years in this manner, each retires

* *Sarmanas*, Clem Alex Strom i 305

† Strab Geog lib. xv 1 59 Falconer's Translation, iii p 109

to his own property, and lives with less restraint, wearing robes of fine linen, and rings of gold, but without profusion on the hands and ears. They eat the flesh of animals, but not that of those which assist man in his labour, and abstain from pungent and seasoned food. They practise polygamy for the sake of abundant offspring. If they have no servants, they supply their place by their own children, for the more nearly any person is related to another, the more is he bound to attend to his wants. Megasthenes seems to have had in view in this section principally the third and fourth *āshramas* of the Brahmins (of which the fourth is the milder) though he concludes it by a reference to the second that of the Householder*. The Brahmins, he goes on to say (in conformity with what we find in the Hindu literature) do not suffer their wives to attend their philosophical discourses. The reasons alleged by him for this reserve are the danger of the divulgence of secrets, the assertion of independence by instructed females, and then desertion of their husbands—reasons which, with some, are alleged to the present day against female instruction.

Of the doctrine of a future state as taught by the Brahmins Megasthenes had but partial notions. ‘ Their discourse,’ he says, ‘ much on death, for it is their opinion that the present life is the state of one conceived in the womb, and that death to philosophers is but to a real and happy life. He was better informed about the non-recognition by them, under certain courses of teaching, of the absence of good and evil in the accidents of life. He rightly speaks of many of their notions of natural phenomena being founded merely on fables. He notices the

* See before, pp 28-35

opinion of the Brahmans that the earth is spherical, from which it would appear that something had been said to him of the *Brahmanḍa*, or egg of Brahma, and that there is a fifth element doubtless the *akāśha* of the Indian sages. The 'most honourable' of the *Garmanes*,—whom in the gross we recognize as principally the Buddhist *Shramanas*,—he declares to be the *Hylobi*. The word *Vānaprasthāh* (dwellers in the forest) is the literal rendering of *Hylobi* and the technical designation of the parties in the fourth *Ashrama* of the Brahmans, and these he may have erroneously classed with the Buddhist *Shramanas*, more particularly as they had not a monopoly of this name, though it was applied to them by way of distinction.

Of the Physicians Megasthenes thus writes — ' Second in honour to the *Hylobi* are the Physicians, for they apply philosophy to the study of the nature of man. They are of frugal habits but do not live in the fields, and subsist upon rice and meal which every one gives when asked, and receives them hospitably. They are able to cause persons to have a numerous offspring and to have either male or female children, by means of charms. They cure diseases by diet rather than by medicinal remedies. Among the latter the most in repute are unguents and cataplasms. All others they suppose partake greatly of a noxious nature. Both this and the other class of persons [the Brahmanical devotees?] practise fortitude as well in supporting active toil as in enduring suffering so that they will continue a whole day in the same posture, without motion. They are enchanters and diviners, versed in the rites and customs relative to the dead, who go about villages and towns begging. There are others who are

more civilized and better informed than these who inculcate the vulgar opinions concerning Hades, which according to their idea tend to piety and sanctity. Women study philosophy with some of them abstaining at the same time from sensual connexions." This, certainly, mainly applies to the Buddhist devotees among whom were females as well as males *

Megasthenes further correctly mentions that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers (applicable to themselves), and that those who committed the act were reckoned fool-hardy

2 Respecting the *Husbandmen*, Megasthenes says, "The second class is that of the Husbandmen, who are the most numerous and mildest as they are exempted from military service and cultivate their land free from alarm. They do not resort to cities, either to transact public business, or take part in public tumults. It therefore frequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, one body of men are in battle array, and engaged in contests with the enemy, while others are ploughing or digging in security, leaving the soldiers to protect them. The whole of the territory belongs to the king. They cultivate it on the terms of receiving as wages, the fourth part of the produce. This deference to agricultural pursuits by the Indians in times of war has more or less continued to the present time. As the cultivation of the land is here mentioned as a distinct employment and separated

* Clitarchus had probably Buddhists in view when he represents them under the name of Pramnee as opposed to the Brachmanes Strab. Geo. xv. 1. 70

from the rearing of cattle, and the practice of merchandise associated in the law-books with the caste privileges of the *Vaishya* it is perhaps not erroneous to infer that the term *Vaishya* was applied to parties separately following either of these occupations.

3 Respecting the *Pastors and Hunters*, our informant writes —“The third class is that of the Pastors and Hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt, to breed cattle, to sell and to let out for hire beasts of burden. In return from freeing the country from wild beasts and birds, which infest sown fields, they receive an allowance of corn from the king. They lead a wandering life and dwell in tents. No private person is allowed to keep a horse or an elephant. The possession of either one or the other is a royal privilege, and persons are appointed to take care of them”*. The distinction of cowherds, shepherds and hunters, from other portions of the Indian population, continues to the present day.

4 Of the *Artizans, Hucksters, and Labourers*, Megasthenes thus writes —“After the Hunters and the Shepherds, follows the fourth class, which consists of the Artizans, Hucksters, and Labourers. Some of these pay taxes and perform certain stated services. But the Armour makers and Ship builders receive wages from the king, for whom only they work. The general-in-chief furnishes the soldiers with arms, and the admiral lets out ships for hire to those who undertake voyages and traffic as merchants.

* This is followed by an account of the taking the elephant partly correct and partly inaccurate. Our author also repeats the story of the ants and the gold finding, much in the form of Herodotus.

5 Of the *Military*, he says —“ The fifth class consists of fighting men who pass the time not employed in the field in idleness and drinking and are maintained at the charge of the king They are ready whenever they are wanted to march on an expedition, for they bring nothing of their own with them except their bodies’ These troops it is interesting to notice, were embodied as a standing army It is not apparent that in caste they were necessarily *Kshatriyas* They seem not to have been much troubled with what the Romans reckoned “*impedimenta viæ*”

6 Of the *Inspectors*, he says —“ The sixth class is that of the Ephori or Inspectors They are intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report privately to the king The city inspectors employ as their coadjutors the city courtezans, and the inspectors of the camp the women who follow it The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of inspector All this may be correct It is part of the duty of a king, as laid down in the Law books, to deal with spies and emissaries after sunset.* Glances of Inspectors may be got even in the older literature of the Indians †

7 Of the *Counsellors and Assessors of the king*, he says —“ To these persons belong the offices of state, the tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs’ This is pretty much in accordance with what Manu tells us of the royal counsellors In connexion with this part of

* See before, p 41

† See some corresponding designations in the *Purusha Médha*, ut *supra*. pp 127 132

his subject, Megasthenes brings to notice two of the actual principles of caste — ‘It is not permitted to contract marriage with a person of another caste’ nor to change from one profession or trade to another nor for the same person to undertake more than one, except he is of the caste of philosophers, when permission is given on account of his dignity

Returning to the ruling class, Megasthenes says — “Of the Magistrates (*Archons*) some have the charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. Some have the care of the rivers, measure the land as in Egypt, and inspect the closed reservoirs from which water is distributed by canals, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have the charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land as woodcutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They superintend the public roads and place a pillar at every ten stadia to indicate the bye-ways and distances. In all this there is pleasing testimony to advancement in economic civilization.

The most curious arrangements noticed by Megasthenes in this connexion, respect the governors of cities. He tells us they are divided into six Pentads (*panchakas*) Committees of five with very special duties attached to each pentad. The first pentad superintended the fabricative operations, being a sort of Committee of Public Works. The second had charge of the relief of strangers, the burial of the friendless dead, and the care of their

* Γενος, the word which at p. 13 of this work is used as the Greek equivalent of *jati*. The word above translated ‘class’ is *λεπος*.

property The third took cognizance of births and deaths, with a view to revenue purposes which may explain the aversion of the natives of India to statistical inquiries The fourth discharged the duties of the Bazar masters, attending to weights and measures and doubling the tax when the shopkeeper dealt in a variety of articles The fifth took cognizance of manufactured articles and their sale, distinguishing old articles from new ones The sixth collected the tenth of the price of the articles sold, inflicting death on parties guilty of fraud in this matter This division of labour did not supersede the common consultation and responsibility of the general body of the pentads

An equally minute division of labour was apparent in connexion with the management of military affairs, connected with which there were also six Pentads The first of these acted under the naval superintendent, and its members were consequently miniature Lords of the Admiralty The second managed the Commissariat and Transit Department, under a president, having charge of the bullock-trains for the military engines, baggage, instruments of music grooms mechanists, and foragers, whom they rewarded or punished according to their deserts The third had charge of the infantry, the fourth, of the horses, the fifth, of the chariots the sixth, of the elephants In connexion with the notice of these arrangements, Megasthenes makes the following precise statements —“There are royal stables for the horses and elephants There is also a royal magazine of arms for the soldier returns his arms to the armoury, and the horse and elephant to the stables They use the elephants

without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen. The horses are led by a halter in order that their legs may not be chafed and inflamed, nor their spirit damped by drawing chariots. Besides the charioteer, there are two persons who fight by his side in the chariot. With the elephant are four persons, the driver and three bowmen who discharge arrows from his back.

These details all bear witness to what we have often noticed, the division of labour among the ancient Indians, and show the existence in the time of Megasthenes of parties with designations similar to those contained in the lists already introduced into this work.

Several miscellaneous notices of the Indian people, bearing on the social state of the Indians, are introduced by Strabo and Arran on the authority of Megasthenes in a somewhat digressional form. The whole country of India was divided, it is said, into a hundred and twenty-two nations, an estimate probably not below the truth. The people were frugal in their mode of life, using no wine except in sacrifices (the reference is probably to the Soma) and their food being principally of rice. They were fond of ablutions and unctions, of the frictional rubbing of the body and of ornaments of the precious stones and metals. They were remarkable for their regard for truth, their polygamous alliances effected through purchase and favour, the intolerance of professional whoredom, their early marriages in the case of girls, who might be espoused when seven years old, their sacrificing with their heads uncovered, their killing animals by suffocation in order to avoid bloodshed, their punishing crimes by maiming (as enjoined in the

Law-books) their care of the persons of the kings by slave guls their demands on kings for labour and recreation during the day, and other customs known to be consistent with Indian history They are spoken of as ignorant of letters or writing, and as conducting public business memoriter, without an accessible body of law and without the use of seals This may have been really the case with the body of the Indians in the time of Megasthenes for the oldest known form of the Indian alphabets bears evidence of a Grecian and Phenician origin, and was not unlikely devised after the invasion of Alexander the Great *

Megasthenes is accused of deviating into fables when he speaks of Indian dwarfish races of five or three spans in height, and without nostrils, but with breathing orifices about the mouth of Enocoitœ, who slept on their ears which hung down to their feet, of tribes with heels in front, and instep and toes turned back, of Ocypadœ, so swift of foot that they left horses behind them, of Monomati, who had only one eye placed in the middle of the forehead, with hair erect and shaggy breasts, of Amycteres, without nostrils with the upper part of the lips projecting and of various other curious and hideous monsters The absurdity of his narrative in regard to these matters needs no exposure but it is interesting

* Clitarchus, as well as Megasthenes testified to the Indian ignorance of writing On the probable non use of literal writing among the ancient Indians, see notice by the author in *India Three Thousand Years Ago* pp 34-36 and more particularly Max Müller's *Hist. of Sans. Lit.* pp 500-524 compared with Goldstücker's *Intro-*

to know that the more uncivilized tribes of India are characterized in this strange manner even in the classical Hindu literature. Professor H H Wilson, when quoting from the Mahabharata the dig vijaya of the Bhishma Parva, inserts the following note on the mention of the people called *Naikaprishthas* (having more than-one-back) "probably some nickname or term of derision — " Thus we have in the Ramayana and other works, enumerated amongst tribes, the *Karnapravaranas* those who wrap themselves up in their ears, *Asthakarnakas* the eight eared, or *Osthakarnakas* having lips extending to their ears *Kakamukhas* crow faced, *Ekapadukas*, one footed, or rather one slippered exaggerations of national ugliness, or allusions to peculiar customs which were not literally intended, although they may have furnished the Mandevilles of ancient and modern times with some of their monsters * Even in the Vedas, human monsters are alleged to exist.†

An interesting portion of the fragments of Megasthenes is that which refers to the Indian genealogies It is difficult to identify the few Indian names which he indicates Yet with Lassen and others, all Indian scholars must see *Svayambhuva* (the self-existent) in his *Spartembas*, *Buddha*, in his *Budyas*, *Pururaras*, in his *Prareuas* supposed to have been written for *Kradeuas*—the present reading His names with the exception perhaps of the last, are those of divinities heading the

* Wilson's Vishnu Purāna, p 187 See also for the names of the Indian monstrous people Schwanbeck's Megasthenis Indic. pp 64, et seq

† See before, p 96

genealogies, partly of the Solar and partly of the Lunar Dynasties, confounded by him together Megasthenes says that the Indians reckon from Bacchus (whom they made the contemporary of Spartembas) one hundred and fifty-three kings reigning during the space of six thousand and forty two years. The statement agrees with none of the genealogical lists possessed by the Hindus, even when they are viewed as including their fabulous personages. The only safe conclusion is, that genealogical lists were actually recited by the natives at the time of his visit to India. We get no chronological help from him, except in the mention of the name of Sandracottus (Chandragupta), which affords us the valuable historical datum already alluded to.

We have before noticed the fact that the Greeks confounded Shiva and Krishna with Bacchus and Hercules in the concept and legends of whom there is certainly some analogy. They were nearer the truth, when, as Strabo says they related that the Indians worshipped Jupiter Ombrus the river Ganges and the indigenous deities of the country.* In Jupiter Ombrus we doubtless find the Indian Indra by whose influence it was supposed the clouds shed down their watery treasures. Indra was worshipped of old by all classes of the Indians though he was reckoned the special deity of the Kshatras.

It must be apparent from the notices now given that though the Greek accounts of India are, from the form in which they have reached us, not all that could be desired,

* Strab. Geog. xv. 1. 69. I have throughout this chapter referred to M. as quoted in this chapter of Strabo and in A. s.

they are really of a valuable and interesting character from the light which they cast on the social state of the Indians at the times of which they treat. They afford no proof, however that the Greeks recognized their relationship to the ruling tribes of India or discovered the fact that the Greek and Sanskrit are cognate languages. They became known to the Indians under the name of *Yavanas* (Ἰάβας), by which the Greco-Bactrians were afterwards distinguished. By the Greco-Bactrian, Greco-Indian, Indo-Scythian and Parthian Kings, whose coins have of late years been brought to light and whose dominions extended to the northern provinces of India, important local modifications were doubtless made in Indian caste and customs, but of these no historical notices are to be found. India became greatly indebted to Bactrian art the indications of which are not wanting in the Buddhist remains of Western India and this obligation would not be unnoticed by the hereditary limners, painters, sculptors and architects of India, and by those who, under the Buddhist relaxation of Caste, felt at liberty to adopt occupations suited to their own genius and inclinations.

It may be here mentioned though by anticipation, that our obligations to Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria (of the second century after Christ) for the identification and localization of many of the peoples and tribes of India are great indeed. A few of these identifications and localizations have been already incidentally referred to in the preceding pages*. Others of them will be noticed when I review the Hindu Castes as they at present exist.

* See before, pp. 55, 57, 111, 155, 170, 227.

IX —CASTE IN THE LAW-BOOKS AND LATER INDIAN LITERATURE

BOTH the *Smárta* Sutras (or Sutras founded on the *Smṛiti* or "what is remembered") and the *Smritis* themselves having the same origin, form what are called the Hindu *Dharmashastras** or Law-Books. They do not claim an origin similar to that of the Vedas or even that of the Brahmanas, Aranyakas, Upanishads, and Shranta Sūtras, associated with the Védas, to which we have already appealed. Yet their authority is scarcely of a secondary character. They are practically all-prevalent in the Indian community. The more ancient of them contain the record of the laws and customs held to have been long current in the Indian community, and learned either by simple tradition, or from interpretations made of Védic works, by supposed Rishis in whose behalf it is asserted that they were perfect from their birth, and possessed of divine vision. It is generally maintained by the Hindus that Védic authority is wanting to them in any respect, only because portions of the Vedic works, (Bráhmanas and Sutras) on which they were originally founded, have altogether perished. They are written in shlokas a peculiar versification, or "measured prose" as it is denominated by Sir William Jones, but are not poetical in the proper sense of the term. More comments have been written upon them and digests made of them, than in the case of any other Indian writings. The personal, and social, and civil, and religious

* From *Dharma* law and *shastra*, institute

affairs of the Hindus have been conducted according to them for many generations. They are held to be superior in authority both to the two works of *Itihāsa* (the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*) and to the Eighteen Puranas.

The Hindus of Western India speak of Eighteen Smritis and Eighteen Upasmitis. The classifications of them under these heads, however, do not agree. The following is an alphabetical list of the best-known Smritis without reference to this distinction —

1 *Atri*, of 115 Shlokas, treating of Dāna (largesses to Brahmans) and Penances.

2 *Angiras* of 165 Shlokas, treating of ceremonial Defilement and Penances.

3 *Apastamba* of 200 Shlokas. This work is very similar to that of Angiras.

4. *Ashvalayana*, of about 1000 Shlokas, treating of the Daily Ceremonies of the Brahmans, the Sixteen Sanskaras, the Shraddhas, the Daily Homa, the general Duties of the Castes (treated of as in other parts of this work) and the Death Ceremonies.

5 *Baudhayana*, of 1100 Shlokas, treating of Purity and Impurity and Atonements.

6 *Bhāradvaja*. This work is now very rare.

7 *Bṛhaspati*, of 50 Shlokas treating of Dāna.

8 *Budha*, of 22 Shlokas, treating of the Sanskaras and the Duties of the four Principal Castes.

9 *Dakṣa* of 150 Shlokas, treating of the four Brahmanical Ashramas and of Daily Ceremonies and Duties.

10 *Dēvala*, of 90 Shlokas, treating of the four Principal Castes their Daily Duties, Defilement, Purification, and Penance.

11 *Gautama*, of about 450 Shlokas, treating of the Sanskaras, the relative Position and Duties of the four Castes, Funeral Ceremonies, and Penance

12 *Hārīta*, of about 125 Shlokas, treating of Penance and Funeral Ceremonies

13 *Jābāli*.

14 *Jaimini*

15 *Jamadagni*

16 *Kashyapa*

17 *Katyaiana*, occupying twelve leaves in Calcutta edition in Bengali character *

18 *Kaushaki*, of about 300 Shlokas, treating of *Dosha* (stains) and Penance.

19 *Kokila*, of 306 Shlokas, treating of Shraddhas

20 *Laugākshi*

21 *Likhita*, of about 100 Shlokas, treating of Dana, Penance, and Funeral Ceremonies

22 *Manu*, of 2685 Shlokas, as counted by Sir William Jones. The following is its own summary of contents —

The Creation of the World, Laws of the Sanskaras, Observances, Ablutions, Marriage, the great Sacrifices, Funeral Ceremonies, Occupations Family Rules, Things to be Ate and not-Ate, Defilements, Purifications (of men) and Utensils, the Duty of Women, the Practice of the Yoga Tapa, Moksha, and Sanvasa, the Duty of Kings, Decision of Cases, Taking of Evidence, and Examination, Law of Husband and Wife, Inheritance Gambling Punishment of Criminals, the *Achala* (or Dutiful Walk) of Vaishyas and Shudras, Origin of the Mixed Castes, the Duties of all Classes in times of Distress, Rules of Penance, Escape

* See Bibl. Sansk. of Gildemeister, p. 127

from Worldly Connexion, Enjoyment of the three kinds or Fruits of Works, Liberation, the Knowledge of Good and Evil the Duties owed to One's Country to One's Caste, to One's Family, Heretics, and Companies of Traders) *

23 *Narayana*

24 *Parashara*, of 3,300 Shlokas, treating (after the *Upodghāta* or Introduction) of the Daily Ceremonies the Four Ashramas, Sacrifice, Marriage, Funeral Ceremonies Purity and Impurity, Penance, Touch, Eatables and Non Eatables Largesses, Rendering of the Planets Houses, Temples etc Propitious Duties of Kings This Smṛiti also appears in an abridged form, of 541 Shlokas

25 The *Prajapati* or *Brahmā*, of 200 Shlokas, treating of the ordinances for Shraddhas

26 *Sanvarttika* of 216 Shlokas, treating of the Daily Ceremonies, Largesses the Castes, the Ashramas, and Penances

27 *Shātātapa*, of 200 Shlokas, treating of Penance

28 *Shaunaka* of 204 Shlokas, treating of Sacrifice

29 *Shankha*, of 200 Shlokas treating of Deeds that are Right or Wrong (*Dharmadharma*), Purity and Impurity, Daily Ceremonies, and Funeral Ceremonies

* Manusmṛiti, l. 111 118 The contents of the twelve chapters are thus expressed by Sir William Jones. I. On the Creation, with a Summary of the Contents II. On Education, or on the First Order III. On Marriage or on the Second Order IV. On Economics, and Private Morals V. On Diet, Purification, and Women VI. On Devotion or on the Third and Fourth Orders. VII. On Government, or on the Military Class. VIII. On Judicature and on Law Private and Criminal. IX. On the Commercial and Service Classes. X. On the Mixed Classes, and on Times of XI. On P and

30 *Ushana*, of 150 Shlokas treating of Purity and Impurity the Castes, Funeral Ceremonies, Buying and Selling, and Penance.

31 *Vāmana*.

32 *Vaishnatha*, a favourite of the Vaiṣṇavas, whom it supports from a sectarian point of view

33 *Vishnu*. Of this I have seen only the Laghu, or abridged form, which consists only of 110 Shlokas, treating of the Sacraments Ashramas and Castes.

34. *Vṛiddhashatatapa*

35 *Vyāsa*, of 84 Shlokas, treating of the Castes, Ashramas, and Largesses

36 *Yajñavalkya* of 1200 Shlokas The first Division of this work, entitled Acharadhyaya, (the Achara chapter) contains thirteen sections, treating of Introductory Matters, Pupilage, Marriage the Castes the Duties of a Householder, the Duties of the state intervening between Pupilage and Marriage, Food permitted and forbidden, Purification, Largesses, Funeral Ceremonies the Worship of Ganapati, Propitiating the Planets, etc the Duty of Kings. The second, entitled the Vyavahāradhyaya, contains twenty-three sections, treating of Introductory Matters, Payment of Debts Oral Evidence Written Evidence, Trial by Ordeal Partition of Heritage, Boundary Disputes between Master and Servant, Sale of what has no Owner, Reversal of Gifts Repenting of Sale or Purchase, Service by Contract Opposition to Customs or Bye-Laws, Non payment of Wages, Gambling Abuse by Speech, Assaults, Violence, Reversal of Sale Partnership Theft and Robbery, Fornication and Adultery, Miscellaneous The third, entitled the Prayashchitadhyaya treats of

the Atonements for Impurity, for mpromises in Times of Difficulty, for a Vanaprastha, for a Parivrāja, for Compromises in case of Disease for killing Brahmans, for killing Cows, for various kinds of Slaughter for Spirit-drinking for Theft for breaking Caste, for Debauchery of Women for Eating at Funeral Ceremonies for Inferior Sins, for Eating Things forbidden, for Wearing Blue Clothing, etc

It will be observed on looking to this list, that most of these Smritis are exceedingly brief. Some of them appear to me to be made up of the collected quotations ascribed to their respective authors, and not to be distinctive works, forming either individual treatises or a Code of Laws. As to an arrangement of them, founded either upon their age or matter, the Hindus are not agreed. Vyāsaneshvara, the author of the great commentary on Yajñavalkya, mentions twenty-four of them in the following order — Manu, Atri, Viṣṇu, Harita, Yajñavalkya, Ushana, Angira, Yama, Apastamba, Sanvarta, Katyayana, Brihaspati, Parashara, Vyasa, Shankha, Likhita, Dakṣha, Gautama, Shatātapa, and Vasishtha*. He does not however consider this list exhaustive.

* Mitakshara, i. 1 (p. 2 Cal. Ed. of 1813). Nilakantha Bhatta (in the Sanskara Mayukha i. p. 1) after quoting this list of twenty-one authors of Smritis gives the following other list on the authority of Parthina — Manu, Angirā, Vyasa, Gautama, Atri, Ushana, Yama, Vasishtha, Dakṣha, Sanvarta, Shatātapa, Parashara, Viṣṇu, Apastamba, Harita, Shankha, Kātyāyana, Guru (alias Brihaspati), *Prishēta, *Nārada, *Yogi, Baudhāyana, Pitaridha (alias Brahmā or Prajāpati), Subantu, Kashyapa, *Babru, *Iatitha, *Viaghra, Satyavrata, Bharadvaja, *Gārgya, Kātyāyana (name repeated in the MS.), Jabāli, Jamadagni, Langākshi, *Brahmasambhava. To the Smritis in this list not mentioned above I have prefixed an asterisk. Nilakantha gives the preference to Manu of all the Smritis.

Copies of the minor Smritis are now rather rare, the Hindus being generally satisfied with the references made to them in their Digests of Law. The following is the substance of that of *Angira*. It treats of various Penances for Caste and other offences, and is intimately connected with the subject of Caste under our notice.

Repeat the Penances (prescribed) in the case of the Aśhrámas, and all the Varnas. A Bráhman drinking out of the vessel or well of a Chandala is to perform the Santapana * the Kshatriya, the Prájapatya † the Vaishya, half the atonement of the Kshatriya, and the Shúdra, the half of that of the Vaishya. The water of a Chandala ought to be out vomited by these classes as soon as swallowed and the Prájapatya Penance performed. If the water has remained for some time in the stomach the Bráhman has to perform the Krichchhra ‡ and Santapana. If water from the vessel of a Chandala be drunk in consequence of thirst cow's urine must be drunk for three days. If any Dvija (twice-born) person [a Brahman Kshatriya or Vaishya] do not wash his hands after relieving nature after eating, or after touching a dog, he has to bathe and twice repeat the Gayatri. If a Bráhman drink of a well polluted by ordure he has to perform the Krichchhra and Santapana for three days. A person who looks on or touches a crane, a Bhánu § a vulture a rat, an ass a Bika || a jackal a sow, has to perform three Achamanas [thrice to sip water and spout it out.] If a Brahman eat of these animals he has to perform the Krichchhra, Santapana and the Prájapatya. Eating of the flesh of a dog or cock he has to perform the Chandrayana ¶. If a Bráhman speak when

Fasting for a night and day and taking the *panchagavya* the five products of the cow milk butter curd dung and urine

† Fasting for three days, eating once for three days, abstaining from asking anything for three days, and fasting for three days.

‡ Abstaining from water for twenty one days.

§ Supposed to be a kind of water bird

|| *Ardea Garzetta* Sykes

¶ Fasting the first day of the moon one mouthful the second day two the third day three and so on till the full moon, when the supply is to begin to be lessened by a mouthful daily till a new moon occurs. It is the Yavamadhya Chandrayana. In the Pipilika the reverse form of eating is practised.

relieving nature or when eating, he should touch another Bráhmaṇ [Such it is here added, is also the dictum of Shankha and Lakhita.] If on any cotton matress, or ornamented or red clothing any defiling fluid fall, then let the article be purified by drying it and sprinkling it with pure water * If a Dvija touch a Washerman a Charmakára (shoemaker) a Nata (player) a Dhivara (fisherman) or a Buruda (worker-in bambus) he has to perform an Āchamana with water If any of these castes touch a Dvija when he is *uckchhishṭa* † he has to remain for a night without eating, contenting himself with drinking If any Dvija eat of the leavings of the forementioned castes he has to fast for three days and if he be a Brahman, he has to perform the Santapna, while the Kshatriya has to perform three fourths of it the Vaishya two fourths of it and the Shūdra one fourth If a Bráhmaṇ go to the wife of a Shvapaka, ‡ he has to bathe with all his clothes and take a draft of clarified butter If he do this without the desire of the woman he has to bathe seven times and if he does this with her desire, but without his own, he has to bathe ten or eleven times If any woman under a vow become impure (through her courses) her vow is not destroyed but to be implemented after four days If a Bráhmaṇ touch the water of a Chandala, he has to perform the Prájāpatya and Krichchhra. [So also says Sumanta] If a Bráhmaṇ eat the food of a Chandala or outcasted person he has to perform the Parakaś penance, and a Shūdra the Krichchhra. If any person go to the wife of an outcast or eat with her or accept any thing at her hands he has to abstain for a month from grains or perform the Chāndrayana penance If the flesh of a dog an elephant, an ass, or a man fall into a well or tank, the whole water should be taken out, and the well or tank cleaned. If any Brahman partake of water in which a corpse has fallen, he must remain awake for a day and night, and afterwards swallow the Panchagavya. Or he must perform the Chāndrayana or Tapta krichchhra. ||

This is to prevent injury and inconvenience by a regular washing as in ordinary cloth which is to be washed entire.

† In the state of impurity following eating without washing

‡ Literall a do-eater a designation applied to several of the low castes

§ Fasting for twelve days

|| Drinking hot-water milk and ghee for three days each

There is no fault incurred by wearing what is blue at the time of sporting with women but there is at the time of Sandhyá, (the morning and evening ceremonies,) Snána (ablution) Japa (meditation) Homa (burnt sacrifice), Svádhyáya (reading the Vedas), and Pitritarpana (pouring out water to Ancestors) and Yajna (sacrifice), which would be rendered useless by it. A Bráhmaṇ dealing in indigo becomes an apostate or he must perform three Krichchharas. If a Bráhmaṇ wear a blue dress he should remain awake for a night and a day and swallow the Panchagavya. If a Bráhmaṇ pass through a field of indigo he has to do the same. If a Dvija eat of grain raised in a field in which indigo had before been sown he has to perform the Chándráyana. Fields in which indigo has been sown are purified after being kept fallow for twelve years. The husband of a widow remains in hell while he wears cloth dyed with indigo*.

A woman performing any fast or vow (in her own behalf) while her husband is alive shortens his life, and goes to hell after death. A woman is impure to the fourth day after her illness, and if she die in the interval no Sanakára is to be performed for her till after this interval.

If a person be impure in a crowd, his impurity does not attach to others. The metal mixture Kása† is purified by ashes. It is cleansed from spirits by being washed and dried. The Kása vessels from which Shudras drink are purified by touching with them a cow. A vessel touched by a dog or a crow, is purified by an application of ten kinds of salt. Golden and silver vessels are purified by the wind and the rays of the sun and moon. Vessels of Kása are pure for the washing of hands and feet, and not for eating or drinking. Golden and silver vessels which may have been six months in the ground are purified by water. Copper vessels are purified by acid substances. A woollen cloth touching a corpse is not defiled.

If a man go between a husband and wife, or between fire and a Brahman or between a cow and a Brahman he must fast for a day and night.

* It is difficult to account for this hostility to indigo. Perhaps, the Brahmins who had established white as their religious colour were afraid of the introduction of new fashions when their progress to the south of India brought them in contact with the Aborigines using indigo.

† B.H. metal or an amalgam of zinc and copper.

No fruit occurs for ablution performed without the Darbha-grass, or for largesses given without water,* or for Japa performed without counting. The placing the half instead of the whole of the foot upon an Asana (sacred seat) and speaking while eating are faults equivalent to the eating of beef. If any man drink water or eat food that has fallen on the ground, he has to perform the Chandrayana. Dry rice is (fully) digested after seven nights, and vegetables ate with rice after fifteen nights. Milk and curds are digested after a month, clarified butter after six months, and oil after a year. A person taking the food of a Shúdra for a month remains a Shudra and after death becomes a dog (*sic*†). A person who becomes fat by eating the food of a Shudra has no future good issue. Issue begotten after eating Shúdra's food is of the Shudra caste. A person who dies with Shudra food in his stomach becomes a village pig or is born in a Shudra's family. A person who sacrifices after eating with Shudras is forsaken by Pitris and Dévas, and goes to the Raurava (dreadful) hell‡. The wisdom of a Bráhmaṇ looking to a Shudra (with expectation) becomes powerless. Food ought to be given on the ground to such a Bráhmaṇ, as to a dog. If a Shudra make a Namaskara§ to a Brahman, and a Brahman accept it, the Shudra first goes to hell and then the Bráhmaṇ. If an Agníhotri Brahman (a Brahman maintaining the sacred fire) continue to eat the food of a Shúdra his five acquisitions—his soul, his Brahma, and three fires—are destroyed. A Brahman, according to Apastamba, is not to eat anything which may have been in his hand when he touched a Shudra. A Brahman ought to eat the food of a Brahman daily, that of a Kshatriya on the Parvas§ and on occasion that of a Vaishya but never that of a Shudra. The food of a Bráhmaṇ is (to the Brahman) like ambrosia, that of a Kshatriya, like milk, that of a Vaishya like food (properly so called) and that of a Shudra

The reference here is to the necessity of dipping presents in water or applying water to them, when giving them to Bráhmaṇs. See before p. 6

† For an account of the Hindu hells and the unsaid to lead to them see Wilson's *Vishnu Purana* pp. 207-8

‡ A form of salutation to be given only by the Dvijas and to one another

§ "*Parvas* is a term for particular periods of the year (as the equinoxes, solstices, etc.) A name given to certain days in the lunar month as the full and change of the moon and the 6th 8th and 10th of each half month. —Molesworth's *Maráthi Dictionary*

like blood. The Bráhmaṇs food is holiness, the Kshatriyas like an animal, the Vaiśhyas like a Shúdra, and a Shúdra, like hell. The sin of a man is acquired by the eating of his food, he who eats his food eats his sin. If a Bráhmaṇ or Brahmachári eat or drink (without bathing) in ignorance of his impurity from a birth (*sútaka*) which has occurred let him take the Panchagavya and fasting three days he will be clean. A Bráhmaṇ becomes pure in ten days after a birth in his own class, a Kshatriya in six days, a Vaiśhya in three days, and a Shúdra in one day. The birth into which a Dvija will go after eating of the food of a Shúdra, while he (the Dvija) is in a state of impurity from a death or birth is to me (Angiras) unknown. Manu says he will be a vulture for twelve births, or a pig for ten births, or a dog for seven births. No defilement from birth or death occurs when the party concerned is practising the Homa, celebrating a marriage, or erecting a tabernacle for sacrifice. If a fly or a hair be found in food at the time of eating, water is to be applied to the eyes, and a little of (the sacred) ashes sprinkled on the food. If nature be relieved in a forest or place in which there is no water, or where there is the fear of tigers or thieves, there is no defilement from the disuse of water. It is sufficient ten times to touch the ground. If a part, become impure while eating, he has to put out his mouthful and perform ablution. If he has swallowed his mouthful he will become pure by fasting a day or night, but if he has completed his meal he will become pure by fasting three nights. If he has ate improper food while seated in his Pankti (line) he should fast for a day and night, and afterwards swallow the Panchagavya. Divisions in Panktis are caused by fire, ashes, pillars, doors, water and roads. After sitting in one Pankti no one should touch that of others. The Sparsha (defilement by touch) is not communicated to those in one's own Pankti but it is communicated to those of others. A Bráhmaṇ is not freed from sin and impurity by repeating the Vedas but from knowing the meaning of the Smṛiti. If a man repent of his sin and resolve not to repeat it, he becomes pure by that repentance and by reading the Védangas. As fire consumes living trees, so one skilled in the Vedas consumes his own sins. Sin does not occur from confidence in God, but from ignorance and inadvertence, on which account only it is consumable.

In the house of a king, in a cow's fold and in the presence of a God or Bráhmaṇ and at the time of worship and eating shoes ought to be pulled off. A religious king ought to cut off both the feet of any person who will sit with his Padukas (wooden slippers) on his seat. An Agnihotri, a Tapasvī, and a person learned in the Védas may always wear Padukas, no other person ought so to do without punishment. The Chandráyana penance ought to be performed by all who eat in the house of a woman promised in marriage to one person and given to another, in the house of a woman who has become pregnant before marriage and in the house of a woman who has become pregnant before she is ten years old and in the house of a woman who has forsaken her husband and become an adulteress. Hell is the consequence of eating in the house of a woman without offspring. They who live on the property of a woman (*Strīdhana*) go to hell. He who takes away the food of a King the food of a Shūdra or the glory of a Bráhmaṇ, or the food of a person labouring under the Sūta, eats the sin of the world. He who touches a female Chandála at night, becomes pure by touching in the morning the water brought by Jay by bathing in it, and by drinking it. A Dasa, Napita (barber) Gopala (cowherd) Kulamūtra (common cultivator literally a friend of the family), and an Ardhasiri (a cultivator giving up half the produce) may eat with a Shūdra. If a Dvija eat with a Shūdra he has to perform the Chandrayana. There is no atonement for a man who has intercourse with a Vṛishālī (a woman who has her courses before her marriage). He who touches from inadvertence an Ajapala a Mahishya, a Vṛishalipati has to perform ablution of his person and dress (*sachetlasnana*). An Ajapala is the husband of a barren woman. A Mahishya is a man who forgives the adultery of his wife. A Vṛishalipati is the husband of a girl who had her courses before being married. The father mother and elder brother who tolerate a girl in her courses before marriage go to hell. A Bráhmaṇ who will marry such a girl is not to be spoken to or admitted into society. The ancestors who look on a Mahishya in front on a Vṛishalipati, in the middle and on a usurer behind, go into despair. Ancestors, Gods and Rishis go into despair on seeing a person with spots on his body, a leper, a person with injured nails and a person with black teeth. The gods do not eat in the house of a backbiter a liar or a man in subjection to

his wife, or in the house in which a paramour is found. The ancestors eat the clarified butter of the person whose nails and hair are good, who does not wear red-clothing, and whose ears are larger than two fingers. As long as the food is hot, and no conversation takes place, the ancestors feed with the eaters. The qualities of the clarified butter are not to be spoken of till the ancestors are satisfied. Whatever mouthfuls at a *Havyákavya* (*Shráddha*)* are ate by the Bráhmans are ate by the ancestors. No *Vrata* (service in consequence of a religious vow) avails till the Bráhmans are satisfied with gifts of food and gold. Purification from any impurity thrown on the body by a crow or a crane is obtained by washing the stain. By six nights drinking of the juice of the Lotus, Udumbara, Bilva, Kusha, Ashvatha, and the Palasha,† the stain incurred by participating of articles forbidden to be eaten drunken or tasted and of blood, urine and faeces is removed. If this is not done, let three *Krichchhras* or three *Chándríyanas*, or the repetition of the sacraments upwards from the *Jatakarma*.‡ [Here follows a repetition of a verse before occurring.] In doing penance let respect be had to country, time, convenience, property, fitness, and condition. There is no defilement from water or grass occurring on a road, for they become pure by the rays of the sun and the wind. An infirm person is purified by the touch of a person making an ablution in his behalf. [Here follows a statement of the methods to be adopted to obtain ceremonial purification after touching a woman in her courses.] Purity is obtained by ablution after touching a corpse, or hearing of a birth or death. This virtue is in water, because the sun sees it, because it is heated by fire and because the constellations observe it at night. Water is always holy whether still or flowing whether in a well or reservoir or river so says *Vakpati* (*Brihaspati*). *Angirás muni* has said that water (if defiled) is purified by waving a stick over it, or by casting a clod of earth into it or applying cow dung to it. Milk, dung, urine, curds, whey, and butter and the tail of a cow are always holy. Everything has now been

* Oblations to the Manes of ancestors performed by clarified butter and food

† The *Udumbara* is the *Ficus glomerata*, the *Kusha*, the *Poa cynosuroides* grass, the *Bilva*, the *Egle marmelos* and the *Palasha*, the *Butea frondosa*.

‡ See before p. 61

communicated to you, O intelligent one. If a cow is made to fall a Krichchara has to be performed, if it fall on a stone, two Krichcharas, if it fall into a large well, half a Krichchara if into a ditch a quarter of a Krichchara. If it be struck by an instrument, three Krichcharas have to be performed by the killer if by a stick two if by a clod of earth one, or the Prájápatya. One has not to speak with a [strange] woman or sing with her. One must not go at night into a cowpen or perform any Védic ceremony. For cutting or twisting the tail (of a cow) two-fourths (of a Krichchara) are prescribed, for cutting off a foot, a shaving with the exception of the Shikha (tuft) and for felling the shaving of the Shikha, are prescribed. The shaving of a woman to the extent of two handbreaths of her hair is prescribed for a similar offence. Let a man who is purified and undefiled by touch walk (on his way) without speaking. He who is touched by a person not (ceremonially pure), becomes pure in three nights. If during the Sutaka of a person mourning a death he receive tidings of a birth, his Sutaka closes after the tenth day but if his Sutaka is in the first instance for a birth, and he afterwards hears of a death the days of each Sutaka must be fulfilled [i. e. it must be completed in twenty days]. If a Sutaka is commenced for one birth and another be heard of, or if a Sutaka be commenced for a death and another be heard of one Sutaka is sufficient, and no sin occurs from the arrangement. If a Sutaka occur during a Vrata, let the Vrata be completed and a dinner given to the Bráhmans. Whoever repeats this Shastra declared by Angiras becomes free from all sin *

On looking at the preceding list of the Smritis, it will be observed, that most of the works noticed are exceedingly brief. They appear to me to be made up, in some instances, of the collected quotations ascribed to then reputed authors,—who were principally Rishis of the Vedic times who had nothing whatever to do with their composition,—and not to be distinctive works forming either individual treatises or a Code of Laws, properly so-called.

The Smritis in most repute throughout India in general

are those bearing the names of *Manu Yajnavalkya*, and *Parāśhara*. The best commentary on *Manu* is that of the Karnatak Brahman *Kulluka Bhatta*, usually printed with the text, and that on *Yajnavalkya*, that of the Shaiva Dandi *Vignaneswari* called the *Mitāksharā*. The best digest of all the *Smritis* and of the interpretations made of them is that entitled *Mayukha*, (the concentrated Rays of Light) a work of twelve divisions and thirty-six thousand *Shlokas*, written by *Nilkantha Bhatta Kashīlār*, a Deshrasthī Brahman who flourished considerably upwards of three centuries ago. The best digest of the privileges and duties of the *Shūdras*, forming the great mass of the Indian community, as set forth in the Law-Books, is that entitled the *Shūdra Kamalakar* by *Kamalākar Bhatta* also of Kashī, who was somewhat posterior to the author now mentioned. Numerous other digests of Hindu Law are in use in the different provinces of India *. Of these the *Nānaya Smṛti*, treating more of religious than secular matters, is often referred to in the Marathā Country.

The work bearing the name of *Manu* is sufficiently well known by the translation of Sir William Jones. The original text of it has been repeatedly printed, and sometimes with the commentary of *Kullūka Bhatta*. It has the best claim of any Hindu Law-Book to the title of a Code though it is by no means a homogeneous or self consistent work. It commences by a professed recital by *Manu* (the primitive *Manu* the all knowing and all-powerful) to the assembled sages, of the doctrine

* Of these the largest list (founded however more on hearsay than precise research) is to be found in Steele's Report above referred to.

of the evolution or formation of the universe and all its inhabitant., animate and inanimate according to the speculative system which it is intended to support This Code of Laws (Shástra) it tells us Manu learned from the Deity himself and afterwards communicated to Marichi and the other nine Prajapatis or Lords of Creation * Manu, it adds, requested *Bhrigu* to recite the Code which is consequently announced in his name The claims for its great antiquity first proposed by Sir William Jones in his Introduction to his translation of it, have of late years been abandoned by all orientalists and others of a more moderate character are now urged in its behalf There are allusions in it not only to the three sacrificial Vedas, but to the Atharva Veda, to the Brahmanas, to the Upanishads to the Vedangas and to the Shríti etc † Professor Lassen shows that at least portions of it are older than the Buddhist Súttras which contain the name of the god Shiva, not to be found in it Parts of it too, as the same author shows, must have been written when the Aíyas knew but little of the nations of the South of India of which only the *Odras* (of Orisa) the *Dravidas* (of the south-east of the peninsula) the *Avantyas* (of Ujjayani,) and the *Sátvatas* (of the Satpuda range) are mentioned by it. ‡ The collecting, and probably the making, of some of the laws of the Code, however, must have been a work of later times Heretics and their books are sometimes mentioned in it in such a keen way as to make us believe that they had an organiza-

* Attri Angiras, Pulastya Pulaha, Kratu Prachétan, or Daksha, Vashishtha, Bhrigu, and Narada These names are principally those of the Védic poets elevated to the rank of Prajápatis.

† Manu xi 33 iv 100 etc ‡ Manu Chap. x. 44 21 23

tion hostile to that of the Bráhmans, such as first appeared among the Buddhists * Female devotees, unknown to Bráhmanism, and said by Kullúka, the commentator, to belong to the "Buddhist sect," are alluded to † The reference to the *Chínas* would lead us to infer that portions of the work were made after the origination of the dynasty of *Tsin* (B C 260) taking its name, however, perhaps from an older tribe, and to the *Yavanas*, that the same portions were written subsequent to the advent of the Greeks to the north of India ‡ The distinctions between *Mantras* and *Brahmanas* and between *Shruti* and *Smṛiti* are recognized by it § The *Smṛitis* of *Atri*, *Shaunaka*, and *Vasishtha*, etc are quoted by it || Reference is made in it to *Shudra* kings (probably late authorities among the *Aryas*) though only to condemn them ¶ It takes notice of the art of writing, and the recording of evidence on certain occasions ** Dr Max Muller thinks that it has received the name of the *Mánava-dharmashástra* from its being the law-book of the *Manavas*, a subdivision of the sect of the *Taittiríyas* †† The date of the oldest *Smṛiti* collections is probably not to be extended beyond the second century before Christ. It is evident from many of their portions, that they originated in a dark period of Indian history, as far as Bráhmanism is concerned ‡‡

* Manu, ii 10 11 xi 66

† Manu, v ii 363

‡ See passage quoted before p 60

§ Manu, iv 19 ii 10 11 vi 89

|| Manu iii 16 viii 140

¶ Manu iv 61

** Manu, viii 261

†† Hist of Sans Lit p 61

‡‡ For the opinion of Sir William Jones on the faults of Manu, see before pp. 42 3

I have already drawn copiously on Manu for illustrations of the Caste system in the first sections of this work which treat of the sphere and authority of caste, of the orthodox view of the four original castes and of the orthodox view of the mixed castes. The following abstract of important matters not already noticed, however, may be here advantageously made —

Manu, who speaks of the formation, as has been shown of the Brahman Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra from the head, arms, thighs and feet of the godhead according to the orthodox view of caste * does not consistently adhere to this theory. He speaks of Brahma becoming half male and half female and as forming Viráj in that female of Viráj forming Manu of Manu forming the ten Prajapatis of the ten Prajapatis forming seven other Manus and Dévas, and Maharshis of boundless power, and various other creatures, including apes fishes, birds beasts, deer and Men.† Mr Muir appropriately asks. If the castes had been previously created by Brahmá what necessity existed for their being formed at another stage of the creation by the Maharshis, the third in succession from Brahma? And he appropriately adds. It would seem as if the legend of the distinct creation of castes had been part of a separate and perhaps later tradition, engrafted on the other account ‡ But this is not all. We have already seen the doctrine laid down in Manu that the Kshatriya was formed from particles of eight gods specified § Afterwards referring to the three *gunas* or qualities of Deity according to Hindu speculation. Bhrigu speaks of *Shúdras* and *Mlechchhas* (like the ravenous animals) being of the middle quality of *Tama* or darkness of *Charanas* *Suparnas*, hypocrites *Rakshasas*, and *Prishachus* being of the highest conditions to which the *Tamra* quality can extend of *Jhallas* *Mallas* *Natas* those who live by the use of weapons and gamblers and drunkards being of the lowest forms of the *Tamas* quality, of *Rájás* *Ashatriyas* and *Purohitas* and of men skilled in controversy being of the middle state of the *Tamas* quality of *Gandharvas* *Guhyakas* *Vakshas*, *Vidyadharas*, and *Apsarasas* being of the highest

* Manu i 3. See before, pp 62 u.

† Manu i 30 39

‡ Muir's San. Hist. T. i. 16

§ See before i

of the quality of *Iti* or passion of the practisers of *tapa* Yatis Vipras, the hosts of the (lower) heavens the Nakshatras and the Daityas, being of the highest of the forms of the quality of truth *Satra*, of sacrificers Rishis Deities, the Védas, the fixed stars, the years the Pitris (Manes of ancestors), being of the middle forms of the quality of goodness and of Brahma, the Creator of the universe virtue the Great One, the Unapparent One being the highest forms of the quality of goodness * "Here, as remarked by Mr Muir, "we see Kshatriyas and king's priests (*purohitas*) who of course are Bráhmans, in the same grade while other Bráhmans of different sorts rank in two of the higher classes. The highest class of Bráhmans rank with the Rishis and the Védas, while the Védas themselves are only in the second class of good (*sattvika*) existences, and lower than Brahmá, their alleged author †

Of the spread of the Aryas over India, first after their settlement on the banks of the Indus and its affluents and secondly, after their settlement between the rivers Sarasvati and Drishadvati, in what was called *Brahmávarita* Manu gives us some interesting information.

As far as the eastern and as far as the western oceans, between the two mountains [Himavat and Vindhya just mentioned] lies the tract which the wise men have denominated *Aryavarita* [the abode of the Aryas]. Included in this general region was the region of the *Brahmarshi* comprehending Kurukshétra Matsya, Panchála and Shuraséna while the country which lies between the Himavat and the Vindhya, to the east of Vinashana, and to the west of Prayaga [the junction of the Ganges and the Yamuna] was distinguished as the *Madhyadésa* or middle country. All these regions, it will be observed, were north of the Vindhya range. They formed at the time at which the portion of Manu in which they are mentioned was written the land of Bráhmanism. "From a Brahman (*agrajanma*) born in that country (*Aryavarita*) let all men on earth learn their several usages. That land on which the black antelope naturally grazes, is held fit for the performances of sacrifices, but the land of *Mlechchhas* differs widely from it. 'Let the three first classes invariably dwell in those before mentioned countries, but a Shúdra distressed for subsistence may sojourn wherever he chooses ‡

* Manu xii 48 0

† Muir's Text. p 18

Manu ii 17 24

Though the Hindus are aware of the extension of the privileged country to the whole of India they still act in the spirit of these last quotations, and generally oppose foreign travel. The river *Apak* (the name of which etymologically means 'obstruction,' is the boundary of journeying allowed by caste. A passer over the sea (*samudrayam*) is among the parties inadmissible into company at a repast, and to be avoided at *Shraddhas* *.

The great scrupulosity of Caste in regard to certain kinds of food is thus explained by Manu on the principle of the metempsychosis: 'These (animals and vegetables before mentioned) enshrouded in multi-form darkness, by reason of (past) actions have internal consciousness, and are sensible of pleasure and place †.

The teaching of the code of Manu is confined by him to Brahmins (1 103).

In accordance with statements already made, Manu declares that "the Veda, Smṛiti, pure usage (exemplified), and self-satisfaction are the quadruple indications of Duty" (11 12). With this dictum all the lawbooks agree.

The account of the *Sanskāras* or Sacraments† given by Manu is briefer than that found elsewhere. Parties neglecting the *Upanayana* or investiture, are held to be *Vratyas* (members of the profanum vulgus) who are degraded from the *Gayatṛī*, and with whom no connexion whatever is to be formed by any Brahman. The following caste distinctions are recognized — The *yantrapavita* of the Brāhman is to be of cotton, to be put over his head in three strings; that of a Kshatriya, of flax; and that of a Vaishya, of woollen thread" (11 27-44). The ceremony of *Keshanta*, or cutting off the hair (in the sixteenth year of a Brahman, in the twenty second of a Kshatriya, and the twenty fourth of a Vaishya) prescribed by Manu (11 65) is not now attended to.

In connexion with Brahmanical discipleship, Manu uses very strong language about the benefit of pronouncing the *Gāyatrī* and its prefixes (the triliteral syllable AUM or combinedly OM, and the *vyākṛitis*) §. A thousand repetitions of the *Gayatṛī* by a Dvija releases him in a month from a great offence, as a snake from his slough. 'The Brahman, Kshatriya, or Vaishya, neglecting the *Gayatṛī* incurs

* Manu 11 167

† Manu 1 49

‡ A list of the *Sanskāras* is given above, pp. 60-61

§ See before p. 146

with contempt from the virtuous. It is the "mouth (or principal part) of the Vēda. Whoever practises the daily repetition of it for three years 'approaches Brahma moves as freely as air and assumes an aerial form. All rites pass away but it remains. "By the sole repetition of the Gayatri, a Brahman may indubitably obtain beatitude let him perform or not perform any other religious act. (ii 76 87)

[Here is the wonderful Mantra deriving its name from the measure (in three lines) of the Sūkta of the Vēda from which it is taken —

ॐ भूर्भुवः स्वः

तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि

धियो यो न प्रचोदयात् ॥

Om! bhur bhuvah sva!'

Tat savitur varēnyam bhargo devasya dhimahi

*dhīyo yo nah prachodayat **

—Om! Earth! Sky! Heaven!—We contemplate that praiseworthy Sun (*Savitṛ*) of divine lustre, may he direct our intellects!]

This Gayatri it is afterwards enjoined must be repeated several times at dawn and dusk (which form with the noon the three daily times of *Sandhya* with the Hindus), on the penalty of the Dvija being excluded, like a Shudra from the sacred observances of the twice-born (ii 101 3)

The Brahman disciple must acquire his knowledge of the Vēda from his preceptor lest he should prove a thief and sink to the region of torment (ii 116), yet in times of difficulty he may learn the Veda from other sources (ii. 241). Neglect of the prescribed form of returning a salutation deprives him, like a Shūdra of the right of salutation (ii. 126)

Wealth, kindred age conduct, and learning entitle men to respect. 'The seniority of Vipras, however, is from knowledge, of Kshatriyas from valour, of Vaishyas, from wealth and gram and of Shudras from (the priority of) birth (ii 136 137). A Brahman neglecting the study of the Vedas becomes, with his descendants like a Shudra (ii. 168). He is not allowed to pronounce sacred texts, till his new birth occurs, before which he is on a level with a Shudra (173). A *Brāhman* student, but not a *Rājanya* or a *Vaishya*, must be a mendicant (190)

* Rig Veda, xl. 40 in which however the words *Om bhur bhuvah sva* do not occur. The selection of the Gayatri for distinction as a Mantra seems to have originated in the prevalence of solar worship among the ancient Indians.

When treating of the married state Manu thus ordains — Only a *Shūdra* woman ought to be the wife of a *Shūdra* she and a *Vaiśhya*, of a *Vaiśhya* they two and a *Kshatriya* of a *Kshatriya* those two and a *Brahman* of a *Brāhman* (iii 18) Marriages however, must now be confined to parties belonging to each caste respectively * Manu mentions also the eight kinds of Indian marriages allowed in his day† (iii 21 41) The minute and strange rules for the intercourse of married persons (iii 45 50) I pass over

In domestic management there are five places of extinguishment of life —the hearth the millstone, the broom, the pestle and mortar and the water jar but penance for the stain thus occasioned is performed by the five great sacrifices, —reading the Veda, offering cakes and water to the manes of ancestors offering oblation to fire in behalf of the deities giving food to animals sacrificing for departed spirits (*bhūtas*), and practising hospitality for men (iii. 68 90) A *Brāhman* may be a guest in the house of a *Brahman*, but not a *Kshatriya*, unless he eat after the *Brāhmans* (100 110, 111)

The following parties, among others are to be avoided by *Brāhman* householders in connexion with their daily rites —*Brahmans* guilty of theft, atheists, gamblers those who perform many sacrifices for the vulgar physicians *Devalaka* (dressers of images), and flesh sellers. The following parties must all be shunned —a messenger a person with bad nails or blackish teeth an opposer of his preceptor, a phthisical man a feeder of cattle, a younger brother married before the elder an elder brother not married before the younger a dependant on the wealth of relatives, a dancer, an *Avakīrṇī* (a person of the first or fourth *Aśrama* who has violated chastity) a *Vṛishahpati*,‡ the son of a twice-married woman, a man blind of an eye, one in whose house an adulterer dwells a teacher of the Vedas for hire, one who has given hire to such a teacher the pupil of a *Shūdra* and a *Shūdra* preceptor a rude speaker and a *Kundā-golāla* (the son of an adulteress either before or after the death of the adulteress) one who eats with a *Kundā*, a seller of the Soma plant, a traveller by the ocean, a *Bandi*

an oilman, a drinker of spirits a seller of liquid a maker of bows and arrows a father instructed in the Vēda by his son, a leper, etc The following parties must be shunned with great care—tamers and keepers of animals a Brāhman living as a Shudra a sacrificer to the Ganas one who does not practise *achāra*, the husband of a twice married woman and the remover of dead bodies (iii 150 166) The alleged penalties for neglecting these injunctions are in some instances, of an alarming character Food given to the seller of the moon plant becomes ordure in another world, to a physician pus to a *Devalaka* (dresser of images) offal to a usurer infamous (181)

Minute information and directions about the Shraddhas to the manes of ancestors and to deities follow The most favourable place for a Shraddha is some unfrequented place If there be no consecrated fire into which some of the oblations may be dropped, they may be dropped into the hands of a Brāhman, who is the equivalent of fire (212) The Brāhman must be very careful about his manner of eating What he eats with his head enveloped with his face to the south (the habitat of the Rākshasas), with his sandals on his feet, the demons assuredly devour He should not be seen eating by a Chandāla, a pig a cock, a dog, a woman in her courses or a eunuch The fool who gives the residuum of the Shraddha to a Shudra falls into the hell *Kālarūtra*. The superfluous *pidas*, or lumps * may be given to a cow, to a Brāhman to a kid or to fire Not only are the miniant Brāhmans satisfied but the manes themselves They are satisfied, according to the code for a month by the common grains and pot-vegetables for two months, with fish, for three months, with the flesh of the antelope, for four with mutton for five with eatable birds for six with the flesh of the kid, for seven, with that of the spotted deer for eight with that of the black antelope, for nine, with that of the ruru (nilgai?) for ten, with that of the boar and buffalo for eleven with that of hares and turtles for a year, with cow's milk and the food cooked of it for twelve years, with that of the long-eared white goat for ever with the *kālakāla* (the enduring vegetable) with the flesh of a rhinoceros and of the iron-coloured kid with honey and with foreign grains eaten by hermits (iii. 238 239 240, 260 267, 271)

* Often rendered funeral cakes.

Animal food however, is now generally abstained from at Shrāddhas, according to the following smṛiti —

अग्निहोत्रं गवाक्षम सन्धासं पशुपेक्षम् ।

देवराजं सुनोलाक्षं कलौ पंच त्वनयत ॥ *

"The Agnihotra, the slaughter of cows, Sannyāsa, (the use of) flesh at the feast for the Pitris the raising of offspring by the brother of (a deceased) husband are five things forbidden in the Kali (Yuga) Of these the Agnihotra and Sannyāsa, however, are still in practice, having been said to have been restored by Shankara Achārya

When treating of the means of subsistence for the Brāhman household Manu as we have seen, allows him to live by truth or falsehood, but not by hired service.† A Brāhman when hungry may beg from a king the institutor of a sacrifice, or his own pupil but from no person else He has ever to pay respect to objects esteemed sacred He must not step over a string to which a calf is tied, nor run when rain [the gift of Indra] falls, nor look on his own image in water He must pass a *mṛdanga* (a kind of drum) ‡ an object of worship a Brāhman, clarified butter, honey, a place where four paths meet or large trees, with his right hand towards them Particular rules stated with disgusting particularity (and much dwelt on in the principal law books) he has to observe when relieving nature He must not dwell in a city governed by a Shudra king nor in one abounding with persons of low caste He must not stand with Chandālas Pukkāsas or Antyāyāsāyins, or give spiritual advice or read the Vēdas to Shūdras He is never to despise a Kshatṛiya a serpent, or a Brāhman He has to wear no marks which do not belong to him He is forbidden to eat polluted food and that offered to him by persons of other castes, the legislation of Manu on these matters being similar to that of Angiras already noticed A cultivator, a herdsman, a Dāsa a barber etc may however, eat the food of their superiors (iv 33 39 79 99 130 135 210 203)

It is not necessary to repeat what is said by Manu on the diet of Brāhmans§ In addition to former notices, this may be given —The

* Laugākshi quoted in the Nirpaya Smṛiti, ii 1

† Sir William Jones translates this a mound of earth.

‡ See before, p. 21

§ See before, pp. 33-3

man who performs annually, for a hundred years, an ashvamédha, (or horse sacrifice) and the man who abstains from flesh meat have equal merit (v 53)

The institutes of Manu on the subject of purification are similar to those of Angiras, though somewhat more extended. Those referring to purification for the dead occupy a chief place in the code. When a child is born or when he dies in maturity all his kindred are impure. By a dead body the *Sapindas* (the seven orders of descent in the kin entitled to eat the *pinda* or lump together) are impure for ten days or for three days, when the bones have been gathered up (before the knowledge of the death has been acquired) or for one day only in the case of distinguished Bráhmans. *Samanodakas*, those entitled to make the oblation of water together and embracing all known relatives not included in the *Sapindas*, become pure by simple ablution. Matters are the same in the case of births for those who seek absolute purity. In practice however, a mother is unclean for ten days after a birth, while a father becomes pure by bathing. *Sapindas* become pure in ten days after touching a corpse, *Samanodakas*, in three. The pupil of a Brahman preceptor becomes pure in ten nights, after attending the preceptor's funeral. For the death of a vender of the whole Vēda, a man dwelling in the same house with him is impure for three nights. A subject is impure for a day or night on the death of a king. In the cases in which a Bráhman becomes pure in ten days, a Kshatriya is purified in twelve, a Vaishya, in fifteen, and a Shúdra, in a month. He who touches a *Dvákuti* (one like a Chandala), a fallen one, a woman in her courses, a new-born child, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse is purified by bathing. A Bráhman touching a human bone moist with oil is purified by bathing, touching a bone not only by touching a cow or looking at the sun, after performing an *áchamana*. There is to be no giving of funeral water for Vratyas and those who belong to the mixed castes for female devotees, etc. A king on the throne is always pure. So is a Kshatriya dying in battle (v 58, 59, 61 65 81, 83 85 87 89 94, 98)

As to the purification of — — — objects, Manu agrees with Angiras, enumerating however more instances of defilement. He gives the following mantras —

trine of *Shaucha* and *Ashaucha* places the Indian community To Brahmins, are pure what has been defiled without their knowledge what in cases of doubt they sprinkle with water and what they commend with their speech Waters are not defiled by cows quenching their thirst in them The hand of an artist the food got in begging by a Brahmachári the mouth of a woman fruit pecked by a bird an animal sucking a dog in catching deer animals killed by hunters all the cavities above the navel flies the drops from the mouth of a speaker the shadow of an object, a cow a horse the sun beam dust earth air and fire are all pure even when touching and touched (v 1'7 133)

To remove natural impurities various ceremonies are resorted to (v 134-139)

Shudras regardless of religion have to shave once a month to observe the laws of purity like Vaishyas and to eat the orts of the Dvijas. (140)

The laws respecting women found in Manu I here pass over with the intention of onwards referring to them

The *Vánaprastha* and the *Sannyási* are to be as observant of purity as the householders To the latter the following injunction is addressed — 'Let him advance his foot purified by looking (at what is before him) let him drink water purified by cloth let him utter pure truth let him keep his heart pure' (vi 46) Here the ceremonial moral are combined His dishes must have no fracture nor be made of bright metal Their purification must be only with water, as in the case of sacrificial vessels A gourd, a wooden bowl an earthen dish and a basket made of bambu are the vessels proper for the reception of his food As a penance for his unknowingly killing animals, he has to make six *pranayamas* (suppressions of breath) daily (53 54, 69) Notwithstanding the commendation given to ascetics, the áshrama of the householder, who observes the Vêda and the Smriti and supports the other orders is the chief (89)

Much of the legislation recorded in Manu regarding the Kshatriya, or ruler is more of a civil than a religious character, though this distinction, properly speaking is not admitted in the Hindu writers Caste partialities are not wanting in the prescription of the duties of a king as has been already shown in a former part of this work * In his administration of law, he has to regard not only what is

* See before pp 37-44

alleged to have been revealed, but the peculiar customs of countries, tribes, castes etc (viii 46) Regard is to be had by him to the dignity of the several castes in the administration of oaths He has to examine Bráhmans however who act as herdsmen traders, artizans, dancers singers and hired servants, as if they were Shúdras (viii 102) A Bráhman, he has to swear by his veracity a Kshatriya by his conveyance and weapons, a Vaishya by his cows, grain and gold and a Shúdra by the imprecation of all kinds of sins. (113) The three lower classes he may fine, as well as banish for falsehood, but Bráhmans he must simply banish (123) The awful severity of punishments prescribed for parties insulting Bráhmans has already been noticed.* For theft (the meanness of which seems to have been prominently in the view of the Hindu legislators) a Bráhman is to be more severely punished by fire than others The fine of a Shúdra in this case is eight-fold, of a Vaishya sixteen fold, of a Kshatriya, thirty-two fold and of a Bráhmar sixty four fold or even more † (338) Touching a married woman on (the breasts) or any place which ought not to be touched and enduring complacently the improper touch of a woman, are to be viewed as a species of adultery (359) Women guilty of adultery are to be most severely punished A woman polluting a daisel is to get her head shaved two fingers chopped off and to be paraded on an ass An unfaithful wife of high family is to be devoured by dogs, while her paramour is to be burned to death on an iron bed well heated. (371 2) Committing adultery with a guarded Bráhman a Shúdra has to suffer death, a Vaishya has to lose his wealth and a Kshatriya has to be fined a thousand *panas* and shaved with the urine of an ass. (374 375) A Vaishya committing adultery with an unguarded Bráhman is to be fined five hundred and a Kshatriya, a thousand (*panas*) but committing this crime with a guarded Bráhman they should be punished as Shúdras or be burned in a fire of dry grass or reeds. (376 7) Yet ignominious tonsure is the only punishment for Bráhmans in a case of this kind, whose death in punishment a king must not even imagine ‡ More of this partial legislation in the case of adultery is found in the context (381 5)

See before p. 22

† A Bráhman however may take the property of his Shúdra See pp 21 23

‡ See before p 22

Exemption from taxes is granted to persons conferring great benefits, and to Bráhmans of eminent learning as in the case of the blind, idiotic, lame and aged (394)

The supremacy of the king in all market charges prices measurements and tolls is distinctly laid down Bráhman students and religious mendicants and some other classes of the community are exempt from toll (398 409)

The king has to order the Vaishya to practise trade or money lending or agriculture or attendance on cattle and to cause the Shúdra to serve the twice born (410)

A wealthy Brahman may contribute to the support of a Kshatriya and Vaishya assigning them their respective duties His power over a Shudra in the matter of service is unlimited (413 414, 417)

The ninth chapter of Manu treats in the first instance of Females, whose position in caste and religion we shall afterwards have occasion to notice It then passes on to the matter of Inheritance which is connected more with general jurisprudence than with caste to which however some of its injunctions directly refer

If there be four wives of a Brahman in the direct order of the classes, and sons are produced by them all this is the *Smṛiti* of partition the chief servant in agriculture the bull of the herd the riding horse or carriage the (family) ornaments and the principal message shall be deducted from the inheritance and given to the Bráhman son together with a large share by way of pre-eminence Let the Bráhman have three shares of the residue the son of the Kshatriya wife two shares the son of the Vaishya wife, a share and a half and the son of the Shúdra wife one share (ix 149 151) An alternative arrangement however is also sanctioned (152 156) This legislation from the progress of time and the change of usage is now obsolete in the Hindu community The marriage of the *Dvija* of any of three *Varnas* to any female not of his own caste is forbidden in the *Kali Yuga*.*

For a Shudra is ordained a wife of his own class and no other all produced by her shall have equal shares though she have a hundred sons. (157) A son begotten through lust by a Brahman on a Shudra

* See quotation from the *Bṛāhman Nārāyaṇa* in the *Nirṇaya Sūtra* chap 3 near the end.

is like a corpse though alive, and thence called in law a living corpse, or *pārashava* (178)

The property of a Brāhman dying without heirs near of kin or distant relatives (*sapūdas* or *samānodakas*) is to be given to Brāhmanas who have recited the three Vedas, and who are of purity and subdued passion and who have to present water and the funeral cake to the father grandfather, and great grandfather whom they thus represent. The property of a Brahman (contrary to the rule in other castes) is never to be made an escheat by the king (186-189)

Eunuchs and outcastes persons born blind or deaf madmen, idiots, the dumb and such as have lost the use of a limb, are excluded from a share of the heritage though entitled to food and raiment. (201-2)*

Those who neglect the duties of their caste, are with public dancers, singers heretics, etc. to be banished by the prince (225)

A Kshatriya, Vaishya or Shudra may discharge his debt by labour † A Brahman is to discharge it by degrees (229)

The slayer of a Brāhman a drinker of ardent spirits the stealer of the gold of a Brahman and the violator of the bed of his father (natural or official) are criminals in the highest degree (230) Such parties who may not have performed an expiation are to be branded in a particular way, and to be treated as outcastes With none to eat with them with none to sacrifice with them with none to be allied by marriage to them abject and excluded from all social duties let them wander over this earth branded with marks they shall be deserted by their paternal and maternal relations treated by none with affection received by none with respect (238-9) The Brahman guilty of any of these crimes is to be banished while the offender of other classes, even though the offence may have been unpunished, shall be corporally or even capitally punished

* With this agrees the doctrine of Yajñavalkya and of the other authors of the Smritis
Mātkehar d 10 l etc

† *Karma*. In 1830 I witnessed at Dr rakā a curious application of this principle under the administration of the agents of H H the Gik w d A Hindu clerk who had attached himself for the sake of companionship to my servants on the road to that wild part of India, took a *daraka* (religious vœu) of the god Rinchod without paying the established fine of nine rupees He was apprehended in consequence and condemned to ply the needle for a month and a half (consequently) to the repair of the clothing of all the officials concerned

A virtuous king must not appropriate the wealth of a Mahápátaka a sinner in the highest degree. He ought to throw the fine inflicted (on such a person) into the waters as an offering to Varuna, or give it to a learned Bráhmaṇ (248 4)

A person of low caste (avaravarna) giving pain to Bráhmaṇs should receive a terrific punishment from the prince (248) Horrible punishments, indeed, are ordered to be inflicted on other classes of offenders. Special hate is manifest to the goldsmith who is ordered to be cut to pieces with razors when guilty of fraud (276 292)

The king is cautioned against incensing Bráhmaṇs who could destroy him with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars (313)*

On Vaiśya and Śhúdras is enjoined the discharge of the duties specially assigned to them †

The tenth chapter of Manu treats principally of the Mixed Castes. I have already extracted its substance ‡. Some caste arrangements are intimated in connexion with the alleged genesis of the different castes and the occupations assigned to them.

The Chandála and Shvapáka must live exterior to towns, be denied the use of entire vessels and have as their sole wealth dogs and asses. Their clothes must be those of the dead, their dishes broken pots, their ornaments rusty iron. Continually must they wander from place to place. Other classes must have no intercourse with them. They must not walk by night in cities and towns. They must carry the corpses of those who die without friends. Their duty is to bury criminals under the king's warrant, and their privilege is to receive their clothes, beds, and ornaments. (ol 6)

The offspring of a Bráhmaṇ from a Śhúdra woman shall be raised to the class of the father in the seventh generation. The same is the law as to the offspring of a Kshatriya and of a Vaiśya by a Śhúdra woman (64 5). But these diots are now obsolete, as the wives of the Dīti must now be of their own class §. They are worthy of notice however as indicating corruption in the Brahmaṇical blood in ancient times. It is curious to mark in connexion with them the following extraordinary law — 'As by virtue of the father's issue the descendants of

* See in connexion with this the quotations, made at p. 24 above.

† See before p. 44 50

‡ See before pp. 53-60

§ See before p. 377

animals have become reverend and celebrated Rishis (exemplified says Kulluka Bhatta in Rishishringa, in the Rāmāyana) so (it is seen) that the paternal side prevails. (72)

In noticing the occupations in which the Dvijas may engage when straitened for subsistence, there is a great discouragement of agriculture destructive of animal life of the sale of liquids dressed grain tila seeds (unless for sacred purposes) stones, salt, cattle in n, women, cloth dyed red, cloth made of Sana, Kshumā bark, wool (even though not red) of fmit, roots, drugs, water arma, poison, flesh meat of the Soma, milk honey clarified butter oil (of tila) sugar and the Kusa grass of forest beasts of tavenous beasts spirits indigo lākshā (lac) and beasts with uncloven hoofs ' By selling flesh lākshā or salt a Brāhman instantly becomes an postate by selling milk for three days, he becomes a Shudra (86-92) The sale of some of these articles is interdicted because of their supposed sacredness, because of the loss of animal life in their production or because of their alleged impurity or liability to ceremonial defilement

The advantage of each caste seeking to discharge its own duties is illustrated by the following statute and maxim —

वरं स्वधर्मो विगणो न पारक्य स्नुषेन ।

परधर्मेण जिवन हि सद्य एतत्ति जानित ॥

"One's own imposed duty though worthless is paramount —not that of another party though well instituted the person living by a strange course of duty falls instantly from Caste (97)* The Brāhman in distress however, may receive gifts from any quarter (atonements being at hand) To save life forbidden food may be taken as illustrated in the alleged cases of Ajigarta Vāmadeva Bharadvāja and Vishvamitra often referred to in the Hindu literature † (102-8)

* This is somewhat like what we find in the Bhagavad Gītā (iii 35)

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगण परधर्मत स्नुषेनान ।

स्वधर्मे निधन श्रेय परधर्मो भयावह ॥

(One's own religion though worthless, is better than a strange religion however well instituted death in one's own religion is good that (the religion) of another beareth fear

† See above pp 150 et seq

A Kshatriya may take the fourth part (of a crop or income) in time of distress (118)

Attendance on Brahmans is the best work of a Shúdra whatever else he may perform will be fruitless to him (123)

There is no guilt in a Shudra (who eats garlic and other forbidden articles) He is not fit for the Sanskâra (of initiation) He has neither the right of practising *Dharma* (duty) nor is any restraint placed on him in regard to *Dharma* * (126) Moral duties however are obligatory upon him

The eleventh chapter of Manu is devoted principally to penance and expiation. It begins however with certain laws as to largesses. Alms are to be given to Bráhmans seeking to marry to sacrifice to travel to those who have expended their wealth on sacred rites, and who desire to maintain their guru father, or mother, to those who are Brahmácharis and those who are afflicted with disease. These nine classes of Bráhmans are *Snâtakas* (purified-ones). Jewels of all sorts are to be given to Brahmans knowing the *Védas*. What is necessary to complete a sacrifice may be taken from any person even from a Shúdra if a Vaishya (or other *Dvija*) be not near since the Shudra has no business with sacrifice. A Bráhman, without being held guilty of theft may take a day's food from the party who for three days has failed to supply his wants. A Kshatriya must never seize the wealth of a Brahman. He gains from the Brahman whom he protects a sixth part of his righteousness. A Brahman begging from a Shudra becomes in the next birth a Chandal. Misappropriating what he has begged for a sacrifice he becomes a Chasa, or a crow for a hundred years. The person who robs the Bráhmans feeds on the scraps of vultures in the other world for a hundred years. A Bráhman skilled in the law may chastise those who injure him without appealing to the king. He may use the Shruti of Atharvân (the Atharva Vêda) revealed to Angiras for speech is the weapon of a Bráhman to destroy his enemy as arms in the case of a Kshatriya, and wealth in the case of a Vaishya and Shúdra. (xi 131)

Neither a girl nor a young woman nor a man of little learning nor a dunce nor a diseased nor the uninitiated is permitted

to sacrifice Only one who has read all the Védas must officiate at an oblation to fire. (57 8)

No man must sacrifice without bestowing liberal gifts (40) A priest who keeps an agnihotra and neglects his fire must perform the chándráyana for one month, his neglect being equal to the slaughter of a son (41)

Proceeding to enter more formally on the doctrine of penance Manu repeats the following noticeable d cta — ‘ The wise say penance (is effectual) for involuntary sin and others say that it is available from the evidence of the Shruti, even for a voluntary offence A sin involuntarily committed is purged by Védic repetition, but an offence committed intentionally through infatuation, by various special penances (45 6) For certain offences deliberately committed, there is now no available penance.

Morbid changes in the body are said to occur for sins committed in the present birth, or in those by which it has been preceded To escape these penances ought to be resorted to (48 54)

Some sins are thus classified —

I. *Mahápatákas* (Great Sins)

Brahmacide, Surápána (drinking of spirits), theft (of a Bráhma's gold), adultery with the wife of a guru, and associating with parties guilty of these crimes

II. *Patakas* (Sins) —

1.—False pretension (as to caste), bringing a false charge before a king, falsely accusing a guru,—which are nearly equal to killing a Bráhma

2. Forgetting the Brahma (the Veda), showing contempt for the Veda, giving false evidence killing a friend, eating what is forbidden, or what is unfit to be tasted,* which six (faults) are like spirit drinking

3 Appropriating a deposit, and stealing a man, a horse, silver, a diamond, or any other gem, are nearly equal to stealing (the gold of a Bráhma).

4. Carnal dealing with sisters of the same womb, with a little girl, with women of the low castes or with the wife of a friend or son —which are said to be nearly equal to the violation of the bed of a guru

III *Upapātakas*, (Sins of a lower degree) —

Cow killing sacrificing for outcastes (*patitaḥ*) adultery, selling oneself deserting a mother a father a guru the reading of the Veda the (sacred) fire, or a son the marriage of a younger brother before the elder or the omission of the elder to marry before the younger giving a daughter to either of them or performing their nuptial sacrifice defiling a damsel, usury breaking ones vow (of chastity as a student) selling a tank a garden a wife or a child becoming a Vratya (by neglect of initiatory rites) abandoning a kinsman teaching the Vēda for hire learning it from a hireling selling articles not to be sold having property in mines putting large machines to work destroying medicinal plants living by (the harlotry of) a wife, preparing charms to destroy cutting down green trees for fuel performing rites for self interest, eating prohibited food (once without a previous design) neglecting the (sacred) fire, theft, non payment of debts having dealings with untrue Śāstras * excessive attention to music or dancing stealing grain, the base metals or cattle intercourse with a drunk woman killing a woman a Shudra, a Vaishya, or a Kshatriya atheism

IV The Caste destroying sins (in addition to the preceding to which they are inferior) —

Giving pain to a Brāhman smelling spirituous liquor or anything unfit to be smelt cheating unnatural practices with a male

V Sins reducing a person to a mixed caste —

Killing an ass a horse a camel an antelope, an elephant a goat a sheep a fish a snake or a buffalo

VI Sins excluding from social repasts —

Accepting presents from blameable persons engaging as a merchant (in the case of a Brāhman) serving a Shudra master and speaking untutth

VII Sins causing defilement (*mala*) —

Killing an insect a bird or a worm eating what has been carried with liquor stealing fruit, wood or flowers and discomposure of mind (55 70)

This classification of sins and offences, it will be noticed is made altogether on the principles of Caste which are most liable for

Let *parak* y *~* *~* *~* a Bráhmaṇ and stealing his gold are of course the greatest offences which can be committed. In a similar category is placed the drinking of spirits by a Bráhmaṇ. The reason is stated onwards "A drunk Bráhmaṇ may fall on something impure or may when intoxicated make a Vedic utterance or perform some unlawful act (97) Eating things prohibited is more heinous than incest and unnatural crime or killing a woman a Shúdra a Vaishya or a Kshatriya. Even giving pain to a Bráhmaṇ causes a loss of caste

The penances for the offences committed, so far as they are available, are regulated on the same caste principles. A Brahman killing a Brahman (inadvertently) may dwell in a forest for a dozen of years feeding on alms and contemplating the skull of the slain. A Kshatriya doing this, has to make himself a mark to archers or cast himself thrice headlong into blazing fire. A king, doing it, has to perform (with great presents) one of the six great sacrifices. Alternatives are also allowed among which is the surrender, in the case of the rich of property to a Bráhmaṇ learned in the Védas or walking to the source of the river Sarasvatī. The preservation of a cow or Brahman atones for brahmaicide. The stealer of the gold of a Bráhmaṇ has (either to the destruction of his life or otherwise) to be struck by a king with an iron mace but if the offender be a Bráhmaṇ he can get off by the performance of tapa. Caste lost by the offences above specified voluntarily committed is recovered by the *santapana*, and involuntarily by the *prájápatya*. For exclusion from society the *chándráyana* is available. For killing a Kshatriya the penance asked is only the fourth part of that required for killing a Bráhmaṇ, for killing a Vaishya an eighth for killing a Shúdra, a sixteenth. If a Bráhmaṇ kill a cat, an ichneumon, a *Chashā* (the Indian blue jay), a frog, a dog, a lizard, an owl or a crow, he has to perform the same penance as for killing a Shúdra, that is the *chándráyana* (70 132) A Bráhmaṇ having connexion or eating with a Chándála or other low caste woman or receiving gifts from such a person, loses his own caste if he acts unwittingly and sinks to a level with them if he acts wittingly (170) The associate for a year of a fallen person falls like him, and must perform his prescribed penance (176)

After noticing these and other penances Manu treats of the method of excluding from caste. The Sapindas and other relatives of the

patita must offer (to his manes as if he were dead) in the evening of an unlucky day a libation of water—his connections, an officiating priest (*Ritsik*), and his guru being present, a slave girl breaking the pot (of water) and the kinsmen remaining impure for a day and night. They must afterwards cease to speak or to sit with him, withhold all inheritance and property from him refuse him common attentions and deprive him of his rights of primogeniture. Other parties also must cease to have any intercourse with him. A similar course is to be observed in the case of outcasted women, who may be permitted however, to be humbly fed, clothed and lodged in huts near the family residence (183 6 9). Manu contemplates the possibility of restoration to caste after this formidable ejection (187-8), but this restoration by penance after the breaking of the pot, seldom, if ever now occurs in Indian society.

Manu, as reported, again returns to the subject of penances the laws found in the *Sanhitá* ascribed to him not fitting in appropriately with those already noticed.

Neglecters of the *Gáyatrí* and the sacred string (at the appointed time) are admissible to them after penance.

A person saying humph! to a Brahman must bathe, fast for a day, and clasp the feet of the offended party (205). For striking a Brahman with a blade of grass, tying him by the neck with a cloth, and overpowering him in argument, the offender must fall prostrate before him (207). A person intending to strike a Brahman with intent to kill remains in hell a hundred years actually striking him, a thousand. Every drop of a Brahman's blood shed and attracting particles of dust, demands a thousand years torment for each of these particles (206 7).

The prescribed penances are next explained and those of the *Prájápatya*, *Sántapana*, etc. but in a way somewhat different from that stated in the notes above appended to *Angiras* which correspond with the prevalent Brahmanical interpretation. (211 226). The alleged benefits of penance and repentance are stated at length. *Tapa* is declared to be all prevalent. (240).

Even in connexion with the future world the subject principally treated of in the twelfth or last chapter of Manu, Caste is made to appear with all its pretensions and partialities.

When treating of the three qualities of *Satva*, *Raja*, and *Tama* (purity passion, and darkness) said to be inherent in the productions as well as in the essence of Deity, and their connexion with transmigration (*janmantara*), and their division into their conditions of the lowest, the mean and the highest, he places *Shúdras* and *Mlechchhas* with elephants horses, lions, tigers and boars in the middle condition of the *Támasa* quality —only worms, insects reptiles etc. being below them while *Charanas*, *Suparnas*, and deceitful men, and even the devilish *Rákshasas* and *Pisháchas*, are put above them in the highest place of this quality (xu 41 44) *Jhall s*, *Mallas* and *Natas* (said by the commentator to be *Vratyas* of the *Kshatriyas*), *Manu* places in the *Rájasa* condition, above all the parties above mentioned Of course the *Bráhmans* are placed in the condition of purity, according to their own grades, —devotees (*Tapasvis*), mendicants (*Yatis*), and common *Bráhmans* (*Vipras*) arriving at the lowest state of purity sacrificers and *Rishis*, at the middle, and *Brahmá* and the *Bráhmans* participating in creation (the *Prajápatas*) at the highest (xu 48 50)

The slayer of a *Bráhma*n must enter the body of a dog, a boar, an ass, a camel, a bull, a goat a sheep, a stag, a bird, or of a *Chandala* or *Pukkasha*. (55) The stealer of the gold (of a *Bráhma*n) must pass a thousand times into the bodies of spiders, snakes etc (57) Individuals of the four *Varnas* for omitting their peculiar (Caste) duties must enter sinful bodies, and become slaves to their foes A *Bráhma*n making this omission becomes an *Ulkamukha*, (with a mouth like a flame of fire) and devours what is vomited a *Kshatriya*, a *Katapútana* and eats ordure and dead bodies a *Vaishya* a *Maitrakshajyotaka*, and feeds on pus and a *Shudra*, a *Chailashaka*, and feeds on lice (70 2)

The *Brahmans*, from their caste position and the possession of the knowledge of spirit (*atmájnana*) and of the *Véda* are said to have peculiar facilities for the attainment of future bliss (82 87) As fire consumes with its own power living trees so he who knows the *Vedas* consumes the taint of his own (sinful) acts. (101)* On the failure of ocular inspection of the *Vedas*, of inference and of the *Shástra*, that which instructed *Bráhmans* propound is to be held to be indubitable law (105, 109)

* The sentence is a Brahmanical proverb We have met it before in *Angras* (shloka 102)

The contents of the larger portion of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* and of the comment upon it of Viṇaṇeshvara, contained in the *Mitākshara*, are given by the late Mr Borrodaile, of the Bombay Civil Service, in the Appendix to His Reports of Civil Causes decided by the Bombay Court of Sadar Adalat * Better Indices (in Sanskrit) are contained in the Calcutta edition of the work published in 1813, and in the Bombay lithographed edition of 1863. After the extracts now made from Manu, it is not necessary for the objects of this work that the references to that Law-book should be very numerous.

The Shruti Smṛiti, pure A chāra, love of one's soul (or self) and good desires are the foundations of religion (1 1 7)

The mantras or sacred texts in the Sanskāras or Sacraments are to be used by Dvijas, but not by Shūdras

The teacher should instruct his disciple in Shaucha and A chāra, (ceremonial purity and observance) before teaching the Védas (1 2 7)

A Brahman should receive the *Upanayana* in his eighth year from conception or birth a Kshatriya, in his eleventh and a Vaishya, in his twelfth. A Brāhman not receiving it before his sixteenth year a Kshatriya before his twenty second year and a Vaishya before his twenty fourth year are to be esteemed *Vṛātyas* and fallen from the *Sāvitrī* (1 6 29)

During eating silence has to be maintained and water has to be drunk before and after eating

In connexion with the duties of a householder the following instructions are given. The purification and relief of the body are to be attended to. The teeth are to be rinsed. The Homa is to be performed morning and evening. The Védas and Shāstras are to be studied. The worship of God is to be conducted. Water is to be poured out to the gods and ancestors. The Védas Purāṇas, Itihāsas and what treats of the Soul are to be repeated. Balikarma (sacrifice to ghosts) Svadha (sacrifice to ancestors) Homa (sacrifice to the gods),

Svādhyaya (sacrifice to *Brāhmā*), and hospitality to men are the five daily great sacrifices. A portion of the food used in these sacraments is to be thrown to dogs *Chāndālas*, and crows. Then, husband and wife, after other inmates of the family are satisfied, have to eat what remains. (1 5 1 30)

The following are said to be the common duties universally of all men — Abstinence from killing, truthfulness, abstinence from theft, (ceremonial) purity, the control of the senses, the imparting of gifts, self-command, compassion, endurance * (10 26)

A *Brāhman* sacrificing with what he has begged from a *Shudra* becomes a *Chāndāla*, and not sacrificing with what he has got for a sacrifice, he becomes a *bhasa* or a crow (1 5 31)

No intercourse is to be maintained by *Snatakas* with hypocrites or heretics. (1 6 2) They are to dress in white clothing (10 3) Nature is not to be relieved in rivers (which are esteemed sacred) The couch, stool, garden house or conveyance of any other party is not to be used by a *Snataka*. He is to take no food from a party not using the sacred fire (ib 32) As stated by *Angiras*, the *Dā* a *Cowherd*, *Kulamtra*, *Ardhasirina*, and *Barber* may eat with the *Shūdra* (ib. 38)

The legislation of *Yajnavalkya* on the subject of eatables and non eatables is similar to that of *Manu*. Flesh procured for profane purposes or with hair or maggots, food prepared for another party or prepared on a preceding day and left by another and touched by dogs or a woman in her courses, breathed on by cows, left by birds or touched by a foot is not to be ate. Food of *ghrita* or other liquids, wheat, barley and cow's milk, though prepared beforehand, may be taken. The milk of the cow is not to be taken till the tenth day after the calving. For eating intentionally the flesh of the jay or red footed (birds) and of fishes fasting is to be observed for three days. The *Chāndrayana* is to be performed for eating onions, village *ṛgs*, mushrooms, village fowls, leeks, and carrots. Of certain five clawed animals he may eat as already intimated (1.7) by *Manu*.† But, in the case of

* अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेय शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रह ।

दान दमोदया क्षांति सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥

† See before p. 39

Brāhmans, all use of animal food is now discouraged though it is resorted to by certain classes of them

On the purification of articles the legislation of Yajñavalkya is similar to that of Angiras (1. 8)

The section on Danadharma (or largesses) opens with the praise of the Brāhmans, who are to be the objects of the liberality prescribed. The gift of a cow with the calf half born is the best of all gifts—it is like that of the earth itself. The giver obtains by it a year of heavenly bliss for every hair of its body. Gold, tila seeds, lamps, grains, trees, horses, chariots, couches, etc., etc. are suitable gifts. (9)

For the performance of Shraddhas, either on the occasion of births, deaths, eclipses, or the (ninety six) established occasions in a year connected with days and months Brāhmans, learned in the Vedas, skilled in the knowledge of Brahma, and various relatives, are to be called Brāhmans diseased, blind of an eye, of loose character, of adulterous origin, with bad nails, with black teeth, imperfectly clothed, of evil speech, practising merchandise, teaching for hire without manhood, practising fornication disaffected to friends, backbiters, sellers of the Soma, abandoners of gurus or parents, eaters with Kunda golakas, holders of intercourse with outcastes, thievish, of bad conduct, and of bad report, are not to be invited (1. 10. 3. 8)

The propitiating of Ganapati and of the planets which is treated of at some length, is the duty of all castes though particularly binding on the prince (1. 11, 12)

The duties of the prince are laid down somewhat after Manu with certain variations. When he gives land to Brāhmans, the deed of gift should be on cloth or on copper plates with his seal and the names of himself and ancestry attached (1. 13. 10. 12). He is encouraged to give in charity of the fruits of his valour and he is assured that paradise (*svarga*) will be the result of his death in battle (ib. 15. 16). He has to preserve the *deshachara* and *Kulasthiti* (the customs of countries and families) (ib. 35)

In the second chapter which treats of *Vyavahāra* or the Law of Common Life in which the legislation is of a character superior to that of the first—there is but little directly connected with Caste. Yet some important matters are to be noted in it. In discharge of debt, the claims of the Brāhmans, and next in order those of Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and

Shúdras respectively, are to be regarded (ii 2 0) The convenience of Bráhmans is to be consulted in the payment of their debts (ib 7) A son should pay the debts of a father not heard of or deceased or incapacitated [according to Vijnánéshvara, on the authority of Nárada, when he has the power of administration on becoming sixteen years of age] Corporal punishment is not to be inflicted on Bráhmans (ib ii 3 12) Double or triple punishment is to be inflicted on the revilers of the Pátaloma Castes* while only half punishment is to be inflicted on the revilers of the Anuloma The revilers of Bráhmans, kings, and gods are to be punished according to the *uttama sáhas* (in the highest degree, with a fine of 1 000 panas) of the other castes with the *madhyama sáhas* (the middle degree of 500 panas) and of towns and countries with the *prathama sáhas* (the first degree of 250 panas) (ii 16-18) A person not a Bráhman giving pain to a Bráhman should lose the member by which he has offended him threatening a Bráhman with an upraised weapon he should suffer the *prathama sáhasa* and merely touching a weapon in the thought of using it against a Bráhman he should suffer the half of this punishment (ii 17 4) A man committing adultery in his own caste is to be punished according to the highest scale with a person lower than his own caste according to the middle class and with a person higher in caste than himself with death while the woman is to be deprived of her ears and nose Persons carrying off girls of higher caste than their own are to be punished with death A person of high caste having intercourse with a low caste woman desiring it is guiltless but having intercourse with such a person not desiring it he is blame-worthy (ii 22 4-6) A person of caste having intercourse with an antyaja woman is to be stamped with a mark, or abandoned in disgrace A Shúdra having intercourse with an antyaja woman becomes an antyaja An antyaja having intercourse with an Aryan woman is to be put to death (ii 22 12) Any person defiling a Bráhman by an article forbidden to be ate is to be punished with the highest fine thus defiling a Kshatriya, with the middle fine thus defiling a Vaishya with the low fine, and thus defiling a Shúdra with the half of the low fine (ii 23 2) A Shudra assuming the marks of a Bráhman should be fined eight hundred panas In this legislation, there is only a general

agreement with that of the other Smritis. For much of Vyāneshvara's Commentary on Yājñavalkya there is no foundation in the text. The annotator as he proceeds, draws copiously on other authorities.

A child dying before the completion of its second year is to be buried and not burned (iii 1 1). The ceremonies needful on burning the dead are not to be repeated in the case of Brahmacharis and the degraded or in the case of heretics the unprotected fratricides sensualists drunkards, or suicides (ib 5 6). The great source of comfort held out to the bereaved is the fact that death is the resolution of the body into the five elements (9). Persons who may have carried the dead to be burned should not be touched for a day (16). Parents are ceremonially unclean for three or for ten days after the death of a child not older than two years (18)*. A Kshatriya is impure for twelve days a Vaishya for fifteen and a Shūdra for thirty (while a Brahman is impure only for ten days) on occasion of the death of an adult relative (22). No Shūdra should attend the burning of a Dvija and no Dvija that of a Shūdra. A king does not become impure by the death of his relations and no impurity arises from those who die in defence of cows and Brahmins (27).

In times of distress, a Brahman may follow the Dharma of a Kshatriya or of a Vaishya (iii 2 1) abstaining, however, from selling forbidden articles (2 4).

The origin of the four castes is stated according to the orthodox view (iii 4 71).

Atonements for various offences are prescribed as in Manu (iii 6). In the case of Mahapatakas a Shūdra has not the privilege of *jāpa* (repeating mantras) and some other ceremonial observances of the higher castes but by using the other means prescribed for twelve years he may make an atonement for his offences under this heading (iii 7 1).

A thousand oxen or cows are to be given for the homicide of a Kshatriya or a Vrata for the slaughter of a Brahman observed for three years,† a hundred cows for that of a Vaishya or a Vrata for

* The difference about the time of impurity in this instance is attributed to the different teachings of the authors of the Smritis. Manu mentions ten days for its continuance.

† In the case of the inadvertent slaughter of a Brahman the penitential Vrata (begging with a skull in hand) has to last for twelve years. (iii 6 8.)

one year, ten cows for that of a Shūdra, or a Vrata (a voluntarily imposed penance) of six months (iii 8 2 3)

For the slaughter of a bad wife of a Brahman a leather skin for drawing water has to be given for that of a Kshatriya a bow, for that of a Vaishya, a goat, for that of a Shūdra a ram (iii 8 4) and for the slaughter of a good woman what is given for the slaughter of a Shūdra. (5)

The benefits of hearing or repeating the Smṛiti of Yājñavalkya are said at the close of the treatise to be great indeed. It makes a Brahman venerable, a Kshatriya victorious and a Vaishya rich and prosperous. The poor Shūdra has to be satisfied with the information he may get of it from the Dvijas, according to his exigencies as they may occur.

In the *Parāśhara Smṛiti*, the general contents of which I have already noticed * no regular arrangement is observed. The work is reckoned a great authority in the Kali Yuga, and it is evidently more modern than some of the other law collections of its class. It gives the following list of Smṛitis at its commencement — those of Manu, Garga, Gautama, Vasishtha, Kashyapa, Gopala,† Ati, Vishnu, Sanvarita, Daksha, Angu, Shatapati, Harita, Yajnavalkya, Apastamba, Shankha and Likhita, Katyayana, Pracheta, and Shrutirāja (Parashara?). Manu, it is added, prevailed as an authority in the three first Yugas, while the Ahimsa of the three Yugas is not for the present Kali Yuga. Tapa was the highest duty in the Kṛita Yuga, knowledge, in the Treta, and sacrifice in the Dvāpara, while the giving of largesses is the highest duty in the Kali. The Dharma (religious law) of Manu was for the Kṛita

* At p 357

† In the copy referred to by Dr Stenzler (*Ind Stud* i 232) the name of Ushanas here occurs for that of Gopala.

that of Gautama for the Treta, that of Shankha and Likhita for the Dvapara, and that of Parashara is for the Kali. The party guilty of a fault infected a country in the Krita Yuga in the Treta a village, in the Dvapara, his family, and in the Kali, himself. A person became *patita* (fallen from caste) in the Krita, by conversation, in the Trieta, by contact, and in the Dvapara, by eating (forbidden) food while in the Kali, by deeds. In the Krita largesses were taken to the house (of the party to be benefited by them) in the Trieta, by calling him to receive them, and in the Dvapara, by simply relieving the asker, while in the Kali, they are to be bestowed only for service. In the Krita, the *pranas* (five vital airs) were in the elements (of the body), in the Treta, in the flesh, in the Dvapara, in the blood, while, in the Kali, they are in the food. The *Dvijas* are not to be blamed for the peculiarities of the respective Yugas. In the Krita, curses took immediate effect in the Trieta after ten days in the Dvapara, after a month, while in the Kali Yuga, after one year.* Pure religion and truth in the Kali have only a fourth part of their proper dimensions. Life is shortened (in this Yuga) by eating forbidden things. Dharma and tapa are practised only for ostentation. There will be much false speaking for the sake of wealth. Little milk will be yielded by cows? The earth will yield but little grain. Woman will bear only females. The intercourse of the sexes will be only for pleasure. Princes (*Bhupalas*)

* Professor Monier Williams correctly says in his excellent Inaugural Lecture, that the curse of a Brahman is always supposed among the Hindus to take effect sooner or later

will be subjected to Dasyus. Shudras will have the Achara of Brahmins, and the Dvijas that of Shúdras. The high castes (ályavarnas) will earn their livelihood like the lowest (antyajas). The Kṛta Yuga was for the Brahmins, the Treta for the Kshatriyas, the Dvapara for the Vaishyas, and the Kali is for the Shudras. Women of the lower castes will not be married with the higher according to the law which permitted the Dvijas to add to the wife of their own class one from each of the lower of the four Varnas. Duty and sin will be commingled. The merit which was of a million degrees of fruit in the Kṛta was of a hundred thousand in the Tretá, of ten thousand in the Dvapara and will be of a hundred in the Kali (1 1-13 39). Specific legislation follows this general account of the modifications caused by the Yugas.

The Dvijas should live where the black antelope moves between the Himavat and the Vindhya where the ocean going rivers flow where the great tirthas are found and where the Rishis dwell. This is the land of purity but Shudras may live where they are inclined. The country is bad where things not to be drunk are drunk not to be eaten are eaten and where unlawful connexions are formed (1 1 40 45).

A Bráhmaṇ may give food to a Kshatriya a Vushya or a Shudra visiting him at the time of a meal (1 6 12 13).

The general duties of the four Varnas are laid down as in Manu and the other Smritis. It is declared however to be a sin even on the part of a Shúdra, to sell spirits or flesh (1 7 1 14).

The water thrown (for consecration) on the horn of a cow is sixteen times better than that of all the tirthas of the rivers and oceans of the earth (1 8 28).

If a Dvija eat food on the last day of the moon (*chandabshaya* vulgo *amavasya*) he will lose his merit for the month (1 8 37).

The áchára of families and countries is strongly inculcated on all classes of people as their supreme duty (1 9 200).

A Shudra is in the matter of *dāna* to be reckoned like a fool to whom nothing is to be given (1 9 217)

A Dvija eating of the food of a person not on the right road or of a mean person becomes instantly like a Shudra and after death he becomes a village pig (*vitashākara*) He who eats the food of a usurer or of a shepherd or of a person who has lost caste, goes to hell. A Dvija eating from the hands of a Shudra wife goes to the Raurava hell. (1 9 284)

Dvijas should not perform any religious services or sacrifices to get gifts from Shudras, on the penalty of becoming chandalas (1 9 293)

Animal food may be ate at Shrāddhas and sacrifices and in times of famine (1 9 317)

The following classes of Brāhmanas are not to be employed at Shrāddhas —The blind of an eye, he who has broken a contract of marriage a diseased person a backbiter a usurer an ungrateful person a wrathful person a hater of friends, a person with bad nails or black teeth one wanting a limb or having a superfluous limb a eunuch one of bad report, one of bad speech one who teaches for hire a polluter of virgins a shopkeeper a seller of the Soma, one ruled by his wife one of illegitimate birth a forsaker of his parents a thief a *prishalapati*, one ignorant of his own duties one who has a wife who has been before married a goatherd or keeper of buffaloe one accused of evil deeds a receiver of unlawful presents one who habitually lives on alms an astrologer or a messenger one who after eating on the burning ground on the eleventh day after the death has not taken the prescribed atonement etc etc (v 1 12)

Arrangements should be made to prevent Brahmins at Shrāddhas imitating the sound of Shudras swine, cocks (v 58)

A Brāhman begging regularly from low caste people, from Mlechhas, and distillers is pronounced a Baka or heron (v 58)

In the case of death or birth there is no immunity to the liberal to those who are addicted to making vows to poets to sacrificers to Agni hotris to the skilled in the six Angas (of the Vedas) to a king to a persons skilled in the shruti In the kalī (yuga) there is no immunity except what may be removed by immediate ablution A Brahman attending the funeral of a Shudra is impure for three days (vi 11 12)

If a Dvija be touched by a Chundala when making water he must

fast for six nights. If a Bráhmaṇ when eating be touched by another Bráhmaṇ, he must sip water and repeat the names of Vishnu. If a he be touched by a Kshatriya, he must fast till night. If by a Vaiśya he must in addition to this fast swallow the five products of the cow. If by a Shúdra or a dog he must fast for a day and night. If by a washerman or other low castes he must perform the half of the *prájápatya* penance. If a Brahman when eating be touched by a woman who is impure from a birth or restraint, or by a *Mlénchha* he must fast till sunset, and bathe in water kept for a day (vi. 48 57).

Shabaras Pulindas Kikatas (aboriginal tribes), and Natas are like washermen. If a Vaiśya go to a woman of the washerman caste, he has to take cow's urine and half-ripe barley for six days or perform a double *krichhra* (vi. 312 314).

The rules for defilement in eating given by Paráshara are similar to those of Angiras.

Food cooked in the house of a Shudra may be ate at a river when sprinkled with its water, accompanied by a repetition of the *Gáyatri*. Unboiled grain, flesh, clarified butter, honey, oil and different kinds of fruits are impure while they are in the vessels of *Mlénchhas*, but pure, when taken from them. * Milk, curds and clarified butter are pure when in the vessels of the *Abhíras* (viewed as cowherds). Market wares are pure while in the hands of the vendors (vi. 315 324). The rules for the cleansing of vessels are like those of Angiras and Manu.

A Brahman is not to accept gifts when in a state of impurity from births or deaths. When he receives gifts from a Brahman he has to acknowledge them in a loud voice. From a *Rájanya*, in a gentle voice. From a Vaiśya, in a whisper. and from a Shudra in his own mind. With a Brahman he has to commence by saying *Om* with a ling he has to utter thanks without the *Om* with a Vaiśya, to whisper thanks and with a Shudra to wish thanks, imagining himself to say, *svasti* (this is good) (vii. 82 88).

The whole administration of *Shánti* or propitiation, of the gods

* From the specification of the *Mlénchhas* or Barbarians in connexion with these products it seems to be warrantable to infer that the articles were sometimes imported into India at least from the neighbouring provinces.

elements, devils etc., and of houses, temples, tanks etc. is in the hands of the Bráhmans (ix passim)

The work concludes with a statement of the doctrines and practices connected with the Yoga

The best digest of Hindu law, all things considered, is probably to be found in the *Mayukha* of Kamalákara Bhaṭṭa, to which reference has already been made. Its twelve Rays, or divisions, are not always arranged in the same order. With a view to indicate the application of these divisions to such of the social customs of the Hindus as are more or less connected with Caste, I notice their contents, at greater or less length, as needful for the objects of this work.

(1) In the *Sanskara Mayukha*, after some general references to the authoritative literature of the Hindus, we have notices of eleven of the sixteen Sacraments, in connexion with which the peculiarities of the four A'shramas of the Bráhmans, and the general duties of Kshatriyas, Vaishvas, Shudras, and women are treated of. In this department of the work, however, there is nothing which we have not already noticed.

(2) In the *Shanti Mayukha*, which treats of the propitiation of the gods and other objects of fear, we have the following principal sections —

The worship (*pūja*) of Ganapati

The ablution (*snāpana*) of Vinavaka (Garapati)

Sacrifice to the Planets

Characteristics (for good or evil) of the Planets

Characteristics of Garapati and of the Lokapalas (guardians of the Cardinal Points)

Directions for the Homas (burnt sacrifices) of 100,000, 1 000 000 or 100 000 000 *dhutas* or oblation

The Pujá of Houses

- The Púja of the Arches of Gateways
- The Pujá of objects resembling the Deities, as of Nandi Garuda etc
- The Propitiation of the Grahayogas (conjunctions of the Planets)
- The Propitiation of the Planets in their individuality
- The Propitiation of Ráhu and Kétu (the ascending and descending Nodes) but viewed as devils seizing the sun and moon and causing their eclipse
- The Arka Viváha the third marriage of a Bráhmaṇ, made first to the Asclepias gigantea, and afterwards to the bride *
- The Shánti of a woman's courses
- The Shánti of the birth of a calf
- The Shánti of new teeth
- The Shánti of a birth occurring on the fourteenth day of the decrease of the moon.
- The Shánti of the full-moon and of the last day of the moon.
- The Shánti of a birth occurring on the day of the new moon
- The Shánti of the Nakshatras (Lunar Mansions)
- The Shánti of a birth occurring during an eclipse
- The Shánti of the Viṣha Ghatiká (the Poisonous or unlucky Ghatika of the thirty ghatikás in a day and night)
- The Shánti of the Gandanta-Yoga (an unlucky conjunction of the Nakshatras)
- The Shánti of disgusting occurrences
- The Shánti of the entrance of the sun into particular signs of the zodiac
- The Shánti of falling into fevers, etc.
- The Shánti of days specified in the Sūtras of A'shvalayana
- The Shánti of eclipses
- The Shánti of injuries to receptacles of water and fire
- The Shánti of the falling of great walls
- The Shánti of disease in trees
- The Shánti of the falling of lizards
- The Shánti of village and wild animals, as of the dove, crow, horse, and elephant

(3) The contents of the *Vyavahāra Mayukha* are

* Has this custom originated from the "shame" of third marriages prevalent among the olden Hindus?

so similar to the chapter on the same subject of the *Mitákshára* of *Yájñavalkya*, to which we have already referred, and bear so little on caste observances, that we have little to notice connected with them.

When enjoining the preservation of the customs and laws of country caste and family (for the content of the people), it mentions that the *Dvij*s of the South take the daughter of a mother's brother in marriage that those of the Middle country act as artizans and eat kine that those of the East eat fish and have wives who are prostitutes and that those of the North drink intoxicating liquors, and approach their women when they should not be touched and it holds that they are not deserving of punishment on these accounts *

The evidence of parties connected with particular *Vargas* (classes) is to be taken in cases in which these *Vargas* are concerned. The evidence of foreigners and women is to be taken, too, in their special affairs. The evidence of a person fallen from caste is not to be taken †

Outcasted persons have no share in inheritance ‡

Caste-communion, it is maintained according to injunctions of the *Smritis* already noticed, is not to be held with a person who has passed the sea in a ship, even though he may have performed penance for it, and therefore connexion with such a person in this *Yuga* is reprehensible.

Nārada is quoted as saying that a woman left to her own will (*svairini*) who is not a *Brāhmaṇi*, may have connexion with a man of higher caste than herself, though not of a lower, though the man himself is reprehensible § *Yāma* is quoted as teaching that a *Brāhmaṇi* having connexion with a *Shūdra*, is to be devoured by dogs. and having connexion with a *Kshatriya* or a *Vaishya* is merely to have her head shaved and to be carried round on an ass ||

A creditable translation of the *Vyavahara Mayūkha* was published by Mr Borrodaile of the Bombay Civil

* *Vyavahāra Mayūkha*, i. 113

† *V. M.* ii. 3. 67

‡ *V. M.* iv. 113. This law of inheritance is now disavowed under the British Government

§ *V. M.* iv. 2911

|| *V. M.* iv. 191.

Service in 1827 The work, too, was translated into Māthī by Raghunāth Shāstri Dātē

(4) In the *Prayaschitta Mayukha*, after general statements on the nature and objects of atonements and penances, prescriptions are made for sins committed in a former birth, (indicated by diseases, ailments, etc) , directions are given for ablutions by sand and by water , the specific acts of general penances are mentioned , and the distinctions of offences are enumerated Penances are prescribed for a party falsely accused of offences , for a man cut short in his days , for drunkenness , for eating what is forbidden , for eating flesh , for taking food with a person engaged with a sacrament , for eating food injured by keeping , for theft of gold , for intercourse with low caste women , for adultery , for intercourse with beasts , for gambling , for familiarity with parties guilty of offences , for touching the leavings of meals , for minor sins , for sacrificing for the unworthy , for abusing virgins , for abandoning the household fire , and for miscellaneous faults

(5) In the *Shāddha Mayukha* the general doctrine and practice of Shāddhas is treated of But this subject, as far as caste is concerned, has been already exhausted in the preceding pages

(6) The *Samaya Mayukha*, which treats of the times and seasons of religious services, and the duties of days and months, does not bear upon Caste, though it strikingly illustrates the formality and bondage in which the Hindu worshipper is constantly kept The *Manu Samhitā*, it tells us, prevails in the Kṛta Yuga , the Gautama, in the Treta , the Shankha and Likhita

in the Dvapara, and the Parāshara in the Kali. The following laws, formerly current, it also tells us, have been repealed in the Kali Yuga

The law permitting the raising up of issue upon the widow of a deceased brother

The law allowing a girl mentally intended to be given to a particular husband to marry another husband should he die

The law allowing Brahman to have four wives (one of each of the primitive castes), Kshatriyas to have three and Vaishyas to have two

The law allowing the killing of Brahmins in the act of attempting murder

The law allowing Dvijas who may have passed over the sea to be received into caste on then performing penance

The law allowing the performance of *Satruillsha* (sacrificing) for all classes of men (not lower than Shudras)

The law allowing the carrying of a water pot (the emblem of entering into the *banasashrama*)

The law allowing *Mahaprasthanagamana* (walking on pilgrimage in the direction of the Himalaya, till the pilgrim be carried off to heaven)

The slaughter of a bull for sacrifice

The drinking of spirits, even at the *Santraman* (the sacrifice to Indra)

The law allowing entrance into the *Vanapiasthashrama*.

The law forbidding the capital punishment of Brahmins deliberately committing a *Mahapatka*.

The law requiring the exaction of stonements for familiarity (*sansarga*) with sinners

The law requiring penances for sins committed in secret, with the exception of theft

The law allowing the use of flesh in Shraddhas

The law permitting filiation by other ways than by birth or adoption

The law requiring the abandonment of a wife for common sins (smaller than adultery)

The law requiring one to give up his own life in the protection of cows and Brahmins

The law allowing the sale of the Soma juice

The law requiring the killing (by officiating Bráhmans) of animals in sacrifice (the deed being now done by Shúdras)

The law allowing a householding Bráhman, on a long pilgrimage, in difficulties, to eat from a Dasa, Gopála, Kulamitra, Ardhasiri

The law allowing Bráhmans to obtain a livelihood in times of difficulty by doing the work of Kshatriyas Vaishyas and Shúdras

The law allowing a Sányási to beg and receive Dakshina from all castes, to stay ten days anywhere as a guest, and to lodge wherever he might be found at sunset

The law forbidding the wandering of Brahmins

The law forbidding a Bráhman to blow into fire with his mouth

The law interdicting the giving of evidence in cases between a father and a son

The law requiring the Brahmacharya A'shráma to last for forty-eight years (from the binding of the sacred string, being twelve years for the study of each Véda)

The law allowing the marriage of maternal cousins

The law allowing the killing of cows

The law allowing the sacrifice of men and horses

The law allowing the re-marriage of females

The gift of a larger share (in inheritance) to the eldest son

The law sanctioning the performance of the Rájasúya

The law ordering the practice of ordeal (which some nevertheless think advantageous)

These thirty four instances of repeal very decidedly prove the mutability of the Hindu laws, a fact which should not be overlooked by native reformers * In qualification of the repeal of the laws respecting Agnihotra and Sanyása, it is added that they may be practised while the distinctions of Caste and the Védas are acknowledged

(7) In the *Niti Mayúkhya* the duties of kings are treated of much as in the Law book ascribed to Manu

* The list here given is considerably larger than that found in the General Note appended to Sir William Jones's translation of Manu

(8) The *Pratishthā Mayūkha* treating of the consecration of temples, houses, fortifications, images, etc., deals with religious and not caste observances

(9) The *Utsarga Mayūkha* treats of celebrations connected with shrines, idols, tanks, wells, etc

(10) The *A'chāra Mayūkha* treats of the practical religion of life, and is very extensive and comprehensive. Much of it is devoted to caste matters, but to caste matters more as they affect individuals than as they affect social intercommunion. The following are the principal subjects of which it treats, drawing its materials principally from the *Smṛitis* and the *Purānas* —

How the *Dvija* should get awake at the *Brāhma Muhurta* (the last *Muhurta* of the night)

How the natural evacuations should be effected, how the parties seeking relief should turn to the north during the day and to the south during the night, how silence should be observed, and solitude sought, and how cleansings should be effected by water or earth, etc

How *achamana* (the sipping of water and spitting it out again) should be performed—on relieving nature, on dining, on touching the leavings of food, on the passing of wind, on being touched by cats, and other impure animals, on uttering falsehood, on commencing any religious work, on seeing a crow, a washerman, a musician (*vēna*), a fisherman, or a dancer, on speaking with a *chandāla* or *mlēchha*, on speaking with a woman or *Shūdra*, before washing the hands after dinner, on shedding tears or blood, on touching a place where cows, *Brāhmins* or women are killed, on dreaming, on sneezing or spitting, on seeing persons defiling themselves, on falling before a guru, on eating leaf and betelnut, on putting on new clothes, and on touching a woman during her *sūtika* (of ten days after a birth). The number of *achamanas* needed on particular occasions is also stated.

How and when, and with what kind of wood the rinsing of the teeth is to be performed, and not performed. The stick of a Brahman

ought to be of twelve finger breadths of a Shúdra, Vaishya, and Kshatriya, of six finger breadths, and of a woman of four finger-breadths. Particular woods used are lucky, and others unlucky.

How the *pavitra*, or ring of Kusha grass to be worn on the fourth finger, is to be worn at certain religious and other services. A Brahman should use four blades of grass, a Kshatriya, three, and a Vaishya, two.

How ablutions should be performed. They are classed into the necessary, the voluntary the occasional, those needful for cleanliness and the secondary. The first season for them is the morning. The gradation of merit of waters rises as follows—still waters, flowing waters the ocean, *tirthas* the Ganges. The face should be turned to the east in bathing. After ablution a Brahman should clothe himself in white vestments, a Kshatriya in red, a Vaishya in yellow, and a Shudra in blue. The Dvijas should use mantras in bathing, but Shúdras should not use them. Ablution should follow the touch of a Chándála, a woman in her courses, an out caste, a *Sutka* a corpse or the touch of a person defiled by touching any of these objects, a *Dévalaka* (dresser of images) when out of a temple, a *Budhist* a *Páshapata*, a follower of *Kapila* (according to some testimonies), an ill behaved *Dvija* any person who should not be touched, one shedding tears, and a newly shaved person.

How the *tilaka*,* or religious mark, is to be applied to the body. The clay to be preferably used is to be that of the top of a mountain, of the bank of a river, of the *Brahmakshetra*, of the coast, of the sea, of an anthill, of the roots of the *Tulasi* plant, and of *Gopichandana* from *Dvaravata* (*Dvaraka*). It is to be daily applied for the destruction of sin. A black *tilaka* is favourable to peacefulness, a red one to bringing parties into one's power, and a yellow one, to wealth. The *Vaishnavas* (sectarial followers of *Vishnu*) ought to have a white *tilaka*. The application of the *tilaka* by the thumb produces fatness, by the middle finger water or heaven, by the next finger, food, and by the fore finger liberation (from births). According to the *Vaishnavas*, there are twelve places for applying unguents,—the forehead, the belly, the region of the heart, the neck, the two sides of the belly, the middle arms, the tips of the ears, the elbows. When applying them to the forehead

* The root of this word is *tila* to be unctuous.

(during the brightening half of the moon) the name Késhava is to be pronounced, when to the belly Narayana when to the heart, Madhava when to the throat Govinda when to the sides, Vishnu and Vámana, when to the arms Madhusudana when to the ears, Trivikrama when to the elbows Shridhara and Hrishíkésa when to the back, Padmanabha or Damodara and when to the cerebral region (not mentioned above) Vasudeva When the unguents are applied during the darkening half of the moon the preceding names are to be taken in the reverse order The forms of the unguents should be as follows — on the forehead that of an upper arm on the ear that of a rod on the breast, that of a lotus on the belly that of a flame on the arm, that of the leaf of a bambu, on the back that of the rose-apple The best tilaka, from the tip of the nose to the hair, is of ten finger breadths, that of middle worth of nine and the lowest in value, of four, three, or two finger breadths Without attention to these matters, Karma (the fruit of works) is lost Figures of the conch-shell and chakra (sacred discus) should be applied to the body of the Vaishnava The leaves of the tulasí should also be ate by him These injunctions are said to be according to the *Brahmá Purána*. [According to *A'shvaláyana* here also referred to sectarian marks should not be used during Védic ceremonies] According to the *Brahmánda Purána* the *Udha pundra* (the upper marks of Shiva) are to be made by clay, sandalwood ashes and water —after bathing by clay, after the homa by ashes after the worship of the gods, by sandalwood on doing any ceremony connected with water by water If the urgent be by clay its lines are not to be horizontal but vertical if by ashes they are not to be vertical but horizontal They are to be used according to *Kátyayana*, at shraddhas sacrifices japas homas the oblation to the Vishvedevas and the worship of the gods (suras) The places for applying ashes are the forehead the breast, the navel the throat, the shoulder and upper arm, the back and the head. The *Shivamantia* or *Gáyatrí* of the *Atharvaveda* is to be used when the application is made A householder should apply the ashes with water and the *Vanaprastha* and *Sanyasi* should apply them without water The horizontal marks of a *Bráhma*n should be six finger breadths long, of a *Kshatriya*, four, of a *Vaishya*, two and of a *Shudra* and others below him, of one If the (*Shaiva*) *Brahman* make not the *tr pundra*

(the turnary of lines) he becomes *patita* (fallen) Those who mod the parties wearing these marks are the offspring of Shudras From these notices it is apparent that the tilaka marks are chiefly of a sectarian character

How and where the ceremonies of *Sandhya* at morn, noon, and evening are to be performed

How the *Homa* is to be performed, how charity is to be dispensed how the five great Yajnas are to be managed, how libations are to be poured out to ancestors to Bhishma, to Yama and to the gods

How *Puja* (material worship) is to be given to the gods and what flowers and leaves are acceptable or unacceptable to various gods and what are the suitable objects and places for *puja* In connexion with this matter it is said that a Bráhman ought to worship Vishnu as Vasudeva, a prince, as Sankarshana and a Vaishya as Pradyumna and a Shúdra, as Anuruddha. A Bráhman ought to have four images a Kshatriya, three a Vaishya, two and a Shúdra, one The worship of the Shahgrama ought to be confined to Brahmins A Shúdra pronouncing the sacred syllable Om, worshipping the Shúligrama or going to the wife of a Bráhman becomes a Chandala A Bráhman whether pure or impure ought according to the Linga Purana, to be the agent in worshipping the Shúligrama If a Shudra or a woman touch it its touch will prove like that of a thunderbolt Women, noninitiated Brahmins, and Shudras have no right to touch the emblems of Vishnu or Shiva

How *puja* is to be performed. A Bráhman teaching a Shudra to pronounce the sacred Om or *stahá*, becomes a Shúdra and the Shúdra goes to hell

How the worship of clay images (of the linga, etc) should be performed

How at the worship of gurus, gifts should be given to them

How the *homa* of the Vishvodevas is to be performed

How the five mahayajnas are to be performed

How *Bhoyanas* (feedings) are to be effected The *mandala* (enclosure) formed by water on the ground for the vessel of a Bráhman, ought to be quadrangular of a Kshatriya, triangular of a Vaishya, circular and of a Shúdra, semicircular The vessels used ought to be of gold, silver, copper bell metal, or of the leaves of the lotus or the palasha

(*Butea frondosa*) However, a *Prahmachari* Brahmin or widow should not dine either from bell metal or the *palasha* leaf. Nothing is to be eaten of animals with five toes. Numerous and minute rules are to be observed in the further proceedings. The three first classes must neither eat nor drink with the left hand. Should a *Dvija* violate this rule his offence will be like that of drinking ardent spirits. A *Shudra* however may drink water with that dishonoured organ of the body. Nothing is to be taken which has fallen from the mouth. Animal food is to be avoided. A *Dvija* when eating should not listen to a *Chandala*, an outcaste, or a woman in her courses. The times of eating are midday and the evening. Other injunctions, which we have already extracted from the Law books are to be observed.

How the evening is to be spent after lamp-lighting, how beds are to be arranged, and how *strikritya* is to be performed, except on forbidden days.

What places for sleeping are forbidden —such as empty houses, graveyards, the place where four roads meet, places under trees, the shrines of *Mahadeva* and *Devi*, places frequented by *Nagas* and *Yakshas*, mounds of sand or earth, and *Darbha* grass when the *Diksha* is being performed. Sleep is to be taken during the second and third of the four *praharas* of the night.

How dreams are to be interpreted and their bad omens averted.

(11) In the *Dana Mayukha*, the duty and privilege of giving gifts, especially to Brahmins, are amply and keenly treated of. It well proves the fact, which we have already noticed, that the imparting of gifts to the priestly class is quite a science in the institutions of caste*. The following is a general view of its contents —

What *dana* (donum) is

Brahmans, *Kshatriyas*, and *Vaishyas* have the right of giving *dana* according to the *Vedas*, *Shudras* and women according to the *Puranas*. Gifts to *Shudras* should be confined to food and clothing. The merit of giving to *Shudras* is of the ratio of one to *Vaishyas*, of two to *Kshatriyas*, of three, and to *Brahmans*, of six.

* See before p. 27

Of acquisitions made, one-third should be reserved for a livelihood and two thirds for *dāna* according to the work called *Shrādharmā*. Of cows every tenth should be given according to the *Bharat*. Gold, silver or copper given to a *Yati* (*Sanyasi*) consigns both the giver and receiver to hell. No person who has offspring should part with all his property or with his wife, a dependent what is held in loan or pawn what belongs to other members of a family as well as one's self a pledge, what is included in *strīdhana*, and a son.

Certain times are appropriate for gifts, such as Sundays, the day of the sun entering into a new sign of the zodiac eclipses, festivals, etc.

Gifts at holy places are peculiarly meritorious, yet those receiving them there (from a spirit of covetousness) have to perform penance.

Both givers and receivers have to perform numerous ceremonies. Gifts from Brahmins are to be acknowledged in a loud voice, from Kshatriyas in a gentle voice, from Vaishyas in a whisper, and from Shudras in a silent acknowledgment.

Methods of measuring and weighing in *dāna* in the cases of money, grain, land, etc. are prescribed.

Mandapas, or tabernacles when erected by the givers of largesses are to be of a particular form and of particular woods. Directions are given for the construction of the sacrificial *Kundas*, or holes which may be made in these *Mandapas* some of them being of the form of the vulvus, triangular, quadrangular, sexangular, lotus formed etc. etc. the shapes being different according to the castes, a Brahmin's being quadrangular, a Kshatriya's, circular, a Vaishya's semi-circular and a Shudra's triangular. The depth of the *Kundas* is also prescribed.

The planets, the *Lokapalas*, or guardians of the eight directions and *Vinayaka* (*Ganapati*) and other gods are to be invoked. Holy mantras are to be recited. *Pujā* to houses and doors is to be performed. The holy fire is to be kindled. Flowers are to be selected fitted to please individual gods. Particular mantras are to be repeated those of the *Rig Veda* and *Yajur Veda*, and *Sama-Veda* Brahmins being different.

When all things are ready, the prince proceeds to bestow his largesses,

on the Brāhmans The Sixteen Great Gifts (*Shodasha Mahādānām*) according to the Matsya Purana are the following* —

The *Tulapūṣhadāna* the weight of a man or woman in any of the precious metals ghī, etc the *Hiranyagarbhadāna* a golden foetus the *Brahmandadāna* the gift of gold, in the form of the mundane egg the *Kalpatarudāna*, the gift of a golden tree like that which satisfies all human desires the *Gosakaradāna* the gift of a thousand cows the *Hiranyakamadhenu-dāna* the gift of a golden cow and calf like the cow which yields what may be desired the *Hiranyashvadāna* the gift of a golden horse, the *Hiranyashvarathadāna* the gift of a golden chariot with (golden) horses the *Hemahastidāna*, the gift of a golden elephant the *Panchalangadāna* the gift of five plows of wood, and of gold with the bullocks added, the *Dharmadāna* the gift of gold in the form of the earth, a mountain etc the *Vishvachakradāna*, the gift of a golden wheel or discus the *Kalpalatāḍḍāna* the gift of ten golden creeping plants with flowers the *Saptasaganadāna* the gift of seven large oceanic golden vessels of a cubit in diameter and depth the *Ratnadhenu-dāna*, the gift of a cow formed of set jewels the *Mahabhūtaghatadāna* the gift of a large golden vessel, of a hundred finger breadths filled with milk or clarified butter Minute rules are laid down about the times and places at which and the method by which these gifts so acceptable to the Brahmins and meritorious before the gods, are to be given

Besides these Sixteen Great-Danas there are also the Ten Great Danas of the Kurma Purana, the *Dashamahadānāḥ* They are as follows —gold, a horse, tila anāga (cobra serpent in gold), a slave girl, a chariot land, a house, a daughter, and a tawny-coloured cow

Other *Danas* (with notices of some of the preceding) are treated of according to various authorities —as those of a white horse of a copper vesselful of sesamum seeds of a waterpot of a student filled with these seeds of an elephant of a chariot, of land of a house or sheep of a shelter, of ten cows (of molasses, ghrita water milk curds honey sugarcane juice sugar cotton salt, and gold), of a golden horned cow of a cow and a calf when the birth is taking place, (when

* The Shodasha Mahadanas are with a few variations from the Matsya treated of in the Linga and other Puranas. See Linga Purana, second part, pp. 475. Purnadatta on

will secure a safe passage across the infernal river Vaitarani) of a female buffalo of a goat, of odoriferous substances (from the mountains Gandhamádana, Vipula, and Supárshva) of a *bhuvanidhi*, an ocean of happiness of an *anandanidhi*, (an ocean of joy a vessel of the ficus glomerata with a silver cover and filled with gold) of images of the gods and ten Avataras, of the twelve Adityas of the Moon and Sun, of the nine planets of golden images of the donor and of Kuvera (the god of riches) of golden Sháligramas and of the golden image of Kalapurnusha Yama (the god of death)

Respecting *Kanyadana* or optional or discretionary gifts, much is said. The *Adlapuru hadana* and *Kalachakravalana*, made preparative to death, may be of an image with golden eyes, or of a silver discus silver teeth, etc. They are said to remove the fear of death and pain, to secure the full complement of life and to merit heaven. Similar in their objects and effects, are the *Yamadanas* and *Pushkardanas*. The *Krishnáyudana*, the gift of the skin of a black antelope with accompaniments destroys the sin of seven births. The *Shayadana* or gift of a bed confers beauty riches a ten thousand years lease of heaven and other benefits. The *Vastradana* or gift of clothes, confers when the dresses are of cotton entrance into Svarga when they are of wool entrance into the abode of the Rishis when they are of the kumh grass or of silk, entrance into the abode of the Vasus. The *Aśanadana* the gift of a seat keeps disease away and gives a taste of heaven. The *Bhayanadana*, the gift of vessels when they are of gold procures the heaven of Indra when of silver the abode of the Gandharvas when of copper the abode of the Yakshas and Rakshasas when of wood, iron, etc, lesser benefits. The *Sthaladana* the gift of a tray gives fatness and pleasure. The *Pakadana* the gift of cooked food is favourable to the acquisition of power. The *Vidyadana*, or gift of learning, consists principally in presents of books. Those enumerated are the Eighteen Puranas (according to the Varáha)—in their adjective names—as follows —The Bráhma, Padma, Vaishnava, Shaiva, Bhárgava, Naradiya, Maikandeya, Agneya, Bhavishya Bráhma-Vaiavartta, Ianga, Varáha, Skándá Vamana Káurmya Mátasya Garuda and the Brahmanda the Upapuranas the Ramayana Bharata and books of the Tarkashastra (logic) Chanda, Alankara of the Veda Mimamsa and Dharmashastra. Power on earth, and glory in heaven

are the consequences of liberality in this form *Chatropanadana*, the gift of umbrellas and shoes will give freedom from scorching heat and from pain in walking in the other world *Annadāna*, the gift of grain (to serve a year) secure freedom from disease and pain *Tambuladāna*, the gift of leaf and betelnut, secures luck *Gandhadravayadana*, the gift of odorous substances keeps the body in health *Ratnadāna*, the gift of gems keeps off pain, sin, and secures freedom (from births) at death *Vidrumadāna*, the gift of coral has similar effects *Udakadāna* the gift of water according to many authorities, is very meritorious, giving happiness in heaven for a hundred yugas etc *Dharmaghataadāna* the gift of a supply of vessels full of water, is like the gift of a thousand cows, and secures heaven *Yadonavitadāna* the gift of the sacred string* has the merit of the Agnishtoma *Āshitadāna* the gift of a staff to one needing it, keeps off disease and a beating from Yama *Agnishtadāna*, the gift of fuel secures the Brahmaloка. The *Dipadāna*, the gift of a lamp, improves the eyes and gives prosperity both in this life and that which is to come. *Abhyadāna* the gift of shelter to the fearful, fulfils human desires *Maseshudānas* gifts fit for the twelve months keep the body sound prevent entrance into Yamaloka, and effect direct entrance into Svarga. *Ashvathasēvana*, the care of the holy fig tree, destroys disease *Pānthopachāra* feeding travellers, destroys sin, and aids in acquiring wealth *Goparicharya*, the service of cows, procures felicity in Goloka (the heaven of Krishna) *Nanābhavyadāna* distributing of money in various forms, has many wonderful effects in both worlds

Notwithstanding the precise nature of the injunctions of the books, on the kinds, seasons, and modes of gifts, there is in modern times much that is arbitrary in the disposal of gifts. The great object of the legislation respecting them is the encouragement of liberality to the Bráhmans by all imaginable ingenious devices, and coarbitant promises both for this life and that which is to come. Though the formalities prescribed are often

* Including the expenses of its assumption.

neglected, they are sometimes attended to, even in dispensing largesses according to the highest scale. Frequently the native princes of India are brought to notice as more or less satisfying the high demands of the parties who have the privilege of seeking alms. The calls made at marriages by Bráhmans, Bhaṭṭs, and Chárans (or family bards) in the case of the Rajputs, were often viewed as inducements to infanticide. Most enormous sums are given away in the hope of getting sons and heirs, throughout the country. "About the year 1794, Chanaghosha, a Kayastha of Midnápur," says Mr. Ward, "gave to the Brahmins an artificial mountain of gold. A little before this Gopala Krishna, a Vaidya of Rájánagar, presented to the Bráhmans three mountains, one of gold, one of rice, and another of the seeds of sesamum."* These mountains, he adds, need not be very large, but it is necessary that figures of trees, deer, etc., should be seen on them. Sometimes effects not recognized by the Smritis, are alleged to follow munificent gifts. "Shudras," it is asserted, "cannot pass from a lower grade to a higher, but the Rájas of Travankur are always manufactured into Brahmins on ascending the masnad, an important part in this transmigration being sometimes played by a golden cow, at the mouth of which the Raja enters a Shudra, and having crawled along its interior arrangements, emerges under the animal's tail as one of the twice born. Otherwise he bathes in a golden lotus. The gold figures are subsequently divided amongst the officiating Bráhmans.

* Ward's View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus. Vol. III. p. 222.

During the last century, two Travankur Brāhmanas visited England, thereby, of course, losing their caste which was only restored by their passing the sacred Yoni made of the finest gold, which afterwards, with many other valuable gifts, were presented to one of the temples.* The Raja of Mysore (Mysore), notwithstanding the embarrassed state of his finances, is said to have often given magnificent presents to Brāhmanas, as well as to the temples of the gods. Among others mentioned to me by natives acquainted with his country, are a golden mandapa and cradle, with pearls and precious stones, to the chief Varāhara Svami, a thousand golden rings set with precious stones, to as many members of the priestly caste, the weight of his own body in silver (on his completing his sixtieth year), and liberal donations to learned men. Similar presents have been given in our country by some of the Muth and Rajput princes. Festivals of Brāhmanas are reckoned meritorious throughout the country. In expectation of them, and with a view to do justice to them, those of the old school sometimes fast the day preceding them, and eat so copiously that they need few additional supplies the day following.

(12) The *Shuddhi Mayukha* treats of the removal of ceremonial and other impurities. But I have extracted so much on this subject already, from *Angira*, *Manu*, *Yajñavalkya*, and *Parashara*,† that it is not necessary here again to attempt its exhibition‡

* Dr. Lind of the *Pennant*, p. 314. Compare with this *Orbes et Oriental Memoirs* vol. II (2nd edit.) pp. 251-40.

† See before pp. 360 et seq.

‡ In the examination of the *Mayukhas* I have used my own manuscripts and those of Chaitrao Gopal Inamdar, of W.

By the Smritis the Caste system was brought to its full maturity, and stereotyped for ever, except in so far as it is expected to be influenced by what is held to be the lamentable and destructive progress of the Kaliyuga. In consequence of this circumstance, we need say very little, comparatively, respecting Caste as it appears in the later literature of the Hindus.

X —CASTE IN THE HARIVANSHA

The *Harivansha*, which is sometimes called a supplement to (*khula*), and sometimes a portion of, the Mahabharata, is generally considered as intermediate between the Smritis and the Puranas to which, nevertheless, it is sometimes made to refer. It treats, especially in its earlier portions after its introductory matter, of the glory of Hari, particularly in the form of Krishna. It contains many curious legends. It is scarcely necessary to say that it recognises the caste system in its integrity, though it does not mention it anywhere at any considerable length.

Of Vena, the prince reputed to be so rebellious against the Brahmans, it is there said that he was laid hold of by the great Rishis who rubbed his left thigh. From this rubbing a diminutive and black man came forth, who being afraid, remained standing with joined hands. Atri (the Rishi) seeing him afraid, said to him, *Nishula* (sit down). He became the establisher (*karitā*) of the race of the *Nishadas*.*

The *Harivansha* recognizes *Sutas* and *Magadhas*, in their caste occupations of encomiasts and bards.

It says that Pushadra, originally a Kshatriya, became a Shudra for killing his guru's cow, and that two sons of Nabhigarishta, originally Vaishtyas became Brāhmans.† It also alleges, like Manu, that the Shakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Paradas, Pahlavas, Hanhayas, Tuljyungas,

* *Harivansha* V. c. 39, et seq.

† *Il. V. vi. c. 28, 9.*

etc. lost their caste of Kshatriyas for rebelling against the descendant of Harischandra * These traditions and others of a like character found in the Purāṇas, deal with the fact that position in Aryan society was not originally wholly dependent on birth

To the various and contradictory accounts of the origin of Caste, the following is added — The renowned Sunahotra [a king of the Lunar race] was the son of Kshatravridha and had three very righteous sons, Kasha, Shala and the mighty Ghrtsamada The son of Ghrtsamada was Shunaka, from whence sprang the Shannakas Brahmins Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shūdras † Shaunaka is also spoken of in the Vishnu Purana ‡ as having 'originated the four castes' Perhaps this prince had some hand in framing laws for their distinct recognition as is onwards said to have been the case with King Bah § In the context of the passage now quoted, the Maitreyas are said to have assumed the part of the descendants of Bhrigu (the duties of the Brahmanhood) though they had the character of Kshatriyas (as warriors ?) || Children of [the Rishi Angiras] are also said to have been 'born in the family of Bhrigu Brahmins Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, three kinds of descen

* H V xiv See Muir's Texts: 45. et seq. Mr Muir thus translates the passage in the Harivansha, to which I refer — Aurva having performed Sagara's natal, and other rites and taught him all the Vedas then provided him with a fiery missile, such as even the gods could not withstand. By the power of this weapon and attended by an army unopposed and fierce, Sagara speedily slew the Haihayas, as if they had been beasts and acquired great renown throughout the world He then set himself to exterminate the Shakas, Yavanas Kāmbojas Pāradas and Pahlavas But they when on the point of being slaughtered by Sagara, had recourse to the sage Vashishtha, and fell down before him. Vashishtha beholding them by a sign restrained Sagara giving them assurance of protection. Sagara after considering his own vow, and listening to what his teacher had to say destroyed their caste (dharma) and made them change their customs He released the Shakas after causing the half of their heads to be shaven and the Yavanas and Kāmbojas after having had their heads entirely shaved. The Pāradas were made to wear long hair and the Pahlavas to wear beards They were all excluded from the study of the Vedas, and from oblations by fire The Shakas, Yavanas Kāmbojas, Pāradas Pahlavas, Kolisarpas Mahudhas, Dārvas Chōlds and Kēralas had all been Kshatriyas, but were deprived of their social and religious position by the great Sagara, according to the advice of Vashishtha ¶

† H V xxix. v 1018-20 Muir's Texts L 49

‡ V P iv 8

§ H V xxi. v 1684

¶ xxix. v 1762-70

¶ Harivansha xiv vv 118-83. Muir's Texts Vol. i p. 162

dants in thousands * In a neighbouring passage Shudras are said to have also had the same descent †

As in the Ramayana it is said that in the reign of Rāma the Kshatriyas were subject to the Brahmans the Vaishyas to the Kshatriyas and the Shudras to the three other castes ‡

Even the wild *Shabaras Barbaras* and *Puhndas* are represented as praising Arya (the wife of Shiva) §

Of a woman performing the *Umuvrata* (the vrata of the goddess Umā wife of Shiva) it is said that she will give most magnificent presents to a pure Brāhman such as two suits of clothing a bed a conveyance a house grain slaves male and female jewels, a mountain of jewels elephants horses cows, etc etc ||

The Brāhmans in other circumstances, are represented as receiving similar presents ¶

The reading of the Mahābharata should, at its different stages, be accompanied with most liberal largesses **

Inattention to Brāhmanical institutions is represented as the grand cause of the progress of the evil Kali Yuga a most conspicuous sign of which is the usurpation by one caste of the duties of another, particularly as far as the four primitive castes are concerned †† A shrewd guess has been made at the probable issue of the tyrannical system of caste, but this guess is associated with great blunders as to the material depravation of India, of which no sign yet begins to appear

A mystical origin of the Brahmans, according to their sacrificial distribution, is thus spoken of (I quote the translation and interposed notes of Mr Murr subjoining a note respecting the text) — The Lord created the *Brahma* who is the chief as well as the *idgātri* who chants the Sama Veda from his mouth and *htri* and *adhvaryu* from his arms [The text of the next verse seems to be corrupt but it appears to refer to four kinds of priests, the *brāhmanakṛtsin*, the *prastoti*, the *madhvatruni*, and the *pratishtati*] He formed the *matihatri* and the *poti* from his belly, the *adhypati* [queerly adh-

* II V x 130 7

II V xlii 284 8

|| II V xxxviii c 700 27 30

** II V xliii near the end

† II V xxxvii 2 1 34

§ II V lx 30 4

¶ II V clix cxi near the end

†† See II V aii 104 14

śaka?] and the *neshtri* from his thighs the *agnidhra* and the sacrificial *brahmanya* from his hands, the *gravan* and the sacrificial *sunetri* from his arms. Thus this divine lord of the world created these sixteen excellent *ritviks* the exponents of all sacrifice. Hence this Purusha called the Veda is composed of sacrifice, and all the Védas with the Vedāngas Upanishads and ceremonies are formed of his essence.* This differs much from former notices of the priestly generation. There is no consistency in the accounts of the origin either of the Brāhmans or of the other castes.

Further proof of this we have in the Harivansha. "Vishnu sprung from Brahma exalted above the power of sense, and absorbed in devotion, becomes the patriarch Daksha, and creates numerous beings. The beautiful Brahman were formed from an unchangeable element (*al'shara*) the Kshatriyas from a changeable substance (*kshara*) the Vaishyas from alteration (*vikara*) and the Shudras from a modification of smoke. When Vishnu was contemplating colors [or castes the word vari a having both significations] Brāhmans were fashioned with white red yellow and blue colours. Thence his creatures attained in the world the state of fourfold caste as Brāhmans Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras —being of one type but with different duties two footed very wonderful full of energy and acquainted with the means of success in all the works they had to perform. There are declared to be ceremonies prescribed by the Védas for the men of the three (highest) castes. By this union of Vishnu with Brahma [?] by wisdom and energy the divine son of the Prachetasas [Daksha] who was in fact Vishnu the great devotee, passed by means of that contemplation [or union] into the sphere of action [?]. Hence the Shudras sprung from vacuity are destitute of ceremonies and so are not entitled to the rites of initiation (*sanskara*) nor have

* H. V. adh. co. v. 11358 et seq. (Muir's Texts L. p. 36). My manuscript of the original seems more correct than that of the Calcutta printed edition used by M. Muir. For *Adhyāpaka*, it has actually *Achāvaka*, which confirms the conjectural emendation of Mr. Muir. For *Sunetri* it has *Unneta* (the equivalent of *Unneta*). The sixteen classes of priests are thus given in the manuscript commentary of Nilakantha Govinda, associated with my copy of the text —Brahmā, Udgītā, Hotā, Adhvaryu, Brahmanachhansī, Prastotā, Maitravaruna, Pratiprasthātā, Pratihartā, Iotā, Achāvaka, Neshta, Agnidhra, Subrahmanya, Grāvastota, and Lunetā.

they a knowledge of the Vedas. Just as, upon the friction of wood the cloud of smoke which issues from the fire and spreads around is of no service in the sacrificial rite so too the Shudras spread over the earth (are unserviceable) owing to their birth with all its circumstances [?] to their want of initiatory rites and the ceremonies ordained by the Vedas *

XI.—CASTE IN THE PURANAS

We now proceed to the *Puranas* (or *Mahāpurāṇas* as they are usually called), which according to the usage of speech are stated to be eighteen, the *Upapurāṇas*, or inferior works of the same class, amounting to the same number

The following Shloka, which is often quoted by the Pandits, is said to contain the names of the recognized Purāṇas —

ब्रह्माऽम्बोरुह विष्णु शिव भागवत्सङ्ग ततो नारद,
 मार्कण्डेयमथैव देवतमिति प्रोक्त भविष्योत्तरं
 तस्माद्ब्रह्मिवक्त सङ्गमुदित इकद वराह तथा
 लिंग वामन मत्स्य कूर्म गरुड ब्रह्मांडमष्टादश ॥

These in their order, in the nominal form, are the following—Brahmā, Ambhoruha (Padma or Lotus), Vishnu, Shiva, Bhāgavat, Narada, Markandeya, Agni, Bhaviṣhyottara, Brahma Vairarṭṭa, Skanda, Varaha, Linga, Vamana, Matsya, Kurma, Garuḍ, Brahmanda. This list, with one or two differences in the order of the names, agrees with those contained in the Bhāgavata,† now a principal authority, especially in the west of India, and in the Vishnu and Linga Purāṇas ‡ In other

II V ccxi. v 11815 et q I have adopted the exact translation of Mr Mi
 I xiv 1 p. 30.

† Bhāgavata, sk vii. adh 7

‡ Wilson's V Purāṇa p 284

authorities, as mentioned by Professor H H Wilson, there are a few variations. The list of the Kūrma omits the Agni, that of the Agni, the Shiva, for which it substitutes the Vāyu, that of the Varāha the Garuda and the Brahmanda, for which it inserts the Narasimha. The Markandeya, with the Vishnu and Bhagavata, omits the Vayu. The Matsya, with the Agni, leaves out the Shiva*. Other variations are elsewhere apparent. In the Padma Purana, a list is given of twenty-one Purāṇas, including some elsewhere given as Upapurāṇas, viz., the Brahma, Padma, Vishnu, Markandeya, Narada, Markandeya, Agni, Kurma, Varman, Garuda, Linga, Skanda, Matsya, Narsimha, Kapala, Varaha, Brahma Varvarta, Shiva, Bhagavata, Bhavishvottara, Bhavishya. These differences, in a professedly divinely revealed canon, are rather puzzling. The Puranas mentioned in the different lists, however, are forthcoming. They are all posterior in their composition (whatever they may be in some of their legendary and speculative materials) to the breaking up of Hinduism into the different modern sects which now prevail throughout the country. Some of them are of a Vaishnavite, and some of them of a Shakti character, while some of them favour Brahma, or the worship of the Shaktis, or female principles †

* Wilson's V P p vii

† It is said in the Uttaraṇḍa of the Padma that the Puranas as well as other works are divided into three classes, according to the qualities which prevail in them. Thus the Vishnu Naradīya Bhagavata, Garuda, Padma and Varaha Puranas are *Sattvika* or pure, from the preponderance in them of the *Sattva* quality, or that of goodness and purity. They are in fact *Uttara* Puranas. The Matsya Kurma,

The following Shloka is said to embody the names of the *L'papuranas*

गणेश नारदीयच नारसिंहच कापिल
नादिकैयच वारुण्य दौर्वाससमथाविक
कालिकैयच मारीच वीशनस भागव
माहेश्वरच सौरवै पाराशयच मौद्रज
सनकुमारकचैव कौमारच प्रजापते
अष्टादश पुराणानि कथितानि समासत ॥

The names here given are in the nominal form as follows —the Ganesha, Nārada, Narsimha, Kapila, Nandi,

Linga, Shiva Skanda and Agni Puranas are *Tamasa* or Puranas of darkness from the prevalence of the quality of *Tama* —ignorance, gloom. They are indisputably Shiva Puranas. The third series comprising the Brahmaṇḍa, Brahma Vairatta, Muktandeya, Bhavishya, Vamana, and Brahma Puranas are designated as *Rajasa* —passionate, from *Rajas* the property of passion which they are supposed to represent. The Matsya does not specify which are the Puranas that come under these designations, but remarks that those in which the Mahatmya of Hari or Vishnu prevails are *Sattva* —those in which the legend of Agni or Shiva predominate are *Tamasa* —and those which dwell most on the stories of Brahma are *Rajasa*. I have elsewhere stated that I considered the Rajasa Puranas to lean to the *Shakta* division of the Hindus —the worshippers of *Shakti* or the female principle —founding this opinion on the character of the legends which some of them contain such as the Durga Mahatmya, or celebrated legend on which the worship of Durgā or Kālī is especially founded —which is a principal episode of the Muktandeya. The Brahma Vairatta also devotes the greatest portion of its chapters to the celebration of Rādhā, the mistress of Kṛṣṇa —and other female divinities. Wilson's V Purāṇa pp vii xiii. The Brahma Vairatta Purana was appealed to during the celebrated Maharaja Label Case it having been acknowledged as a special authority by Jadunathji himself. It sets forth Hariṇya (to use the appropriate denomination given by Sir Joseph Anould) as the love hero.

Vaṁṁṁ, Durvīsa, Ambā (Devī Bhagavata) Kālikā, Maṁṁṁ, Ushanas, Bhrigu, Mahēshvara (Shiva), Surya, Paṁṁṁṁ, Mudgala, Sanāṁṁṁṁ, Kumāṁṁ, Upapuranas. The lists quoted by Professor H. H. Wilson do not altogether agree with this. He is certainly correct, however, in saying that, "Of these Upapuranas few are to be procured." Those in his possession were the Shiva, as distinct from the Vāyu, (a copy of which I also have,) the Kālika, and perhaps one of the Naradīyas. The Ganēsha and Narada are well known in the West of India, and so, it is said, is the Mudgala. To the list given in the Shloka above quoted, Shamroo Moroji adds the following names—Ataṁṁ, Ishvara, Kāli, Devī, Bhava, Mānava, Vayu and Sāmba*. The Vāyu is often a substitute for the Shiva.

In none of the Puranas, whatever may be their character in a sectarian point of view, is there the slightest relaxation of the system of Caste, viewed in its general aspects. Yet occasionally we find in them certain intimations and assertions worthy of notice.

1 In the *Brahma Purana*, the following passage occurs—Reverence to thee, O tree, the Brāhmanas are thy root, the Kshatriyas are thy trunk, the Vaishtyas thy branches, and the Shudras thy bark. The Brāhmanas with (then) fire issued from thy mouth, the kings (*nripas*) from thy arm, the Vaishtyas from thy thigh, and the Shudras from thy feet†.

2 In the *Kiriyā Yoga Sāra* of the *Padma Purana*,

* Granthālaya of Shamroo Moroji, p. 29.

† Papaprashamanastava of *Brahma Purana*, quoted in *Calcutta Review* 1851.

the glory and dignity of the priestly class are most emphatically set forth "The Brāhman is the supreme lord of all the Varnas To him should largesses be given with worship and reverence The Vipra is the sanctuary (*āshraya*) of all the gods, a visible divinity (*trūḷa śhu*) on the earth, who ferries across the giver in the difficult ocean of the world" "All Brāhmans are most exalted, and always to be worshipped whether learned or unlearned, of this there being no question Those excellent Brāhmans who are guilty of theft and the like, are offenders of themselves, not of others Brāhmans are lords of the Kshatriyas, Vashyas, and Shudras They are lords of one another, and to be worshipped, being gods upon earth" "Whatever good man bows to a Brāhman, worshipping him as Vishnu, is blessed with long life, sons, fame and wealth But whatever foolish one does not bow to a Brāhman on the earth, Keshava (Vishnu) desires to strike off his head with his chakra The bearer of a drop of water which has been in contact with a Brāhman's foot has all the sins of his body thereby, destroyed Whoever carries on his head the holy things touched by a Brāhman's foot, verily, verily I say, he is freed from all sins Whatever good man worships a Brāhman going round him, obtains the merit of going round the world with its seven Dvīpas"* In the *Bhumi Khanda* of the same Pūrāṇa, the duties of the three highest castes are declared to remain obligatory, notwithstanding the progress of the Kali Yuga †

* Pūrāṇa P. Krishna Yoga Sūtra, २२

† B. I. Bhumi Khanda, adli 10 Dr Bhau Dajis MS

3 Somewhat contradictory accounts of the origin of Caste are given in the *Vishnu Purāna*. These have been evolved by Mr. Mun with his usual accuracy and ability.

While Pradhana was meditating on creation, as formerly at the summoning of the Kūṭas there appeared an inanimate creation composed of light and gloom. This is the first creation of immovable things. It was followed by the second that of irrational animals. It was followed by that of the *andhāśrotasas* (i.e. whose nutriment proceeds upward) or *Dās*. Pradhana proceeded to create the *arishrotasas* (so called from the downward current of their nutriment). These had abundant illumination both externally and internally but were also full of lustre and passion. These were men and they fulfilled Brahma's purpose. (V. P. 31-4) [A more ample account has its variations.]

While Brahma was deifying his body became pervaded with darkness and the demons issued from his thigh. He abandoned that body and took another when the god proceeded from his mouth. He then assumed a third body also pure, from which sprang the Pitṛi. He next took a body distinguished by passion from which were produced men. From another body were formed sheep from his breast, goat from his mouth, line from his belly and sides, horses, elephants etc. etc. from his feet. 'The creatures as they are reproduced time after time discharge the same functions as they had fulfilled in each previous creation.' [Again another account of matters is given.] When Brahma meditating on truth, became desirous to create the world creatures in whom goodness prevailed sprang from his mouth, others in whom passion predominated came from his breast, others in whom both passion and darkness prevailed sprang from his thigh. All the creatures constituted the system of the four castes Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras who issued from his feet, thigh, breast and mouth. But the particles of sin created by time increased in their hearts and they paid no regard to sacrifice. Reviling belief in the Vedas and the Vedas themselves the gods and all sacrificial and other ceremonies these obstructors of sacred rites and savourers of all religious action became wicked, vicious and perverse and then design. From the next verses it would appear that up to this time the duties of the different classes had not been demonstrated. The means of instruction were provided by Brahma, who had

formed living creatures, established ordinances for them according to their station and qualities and the duties of the castes and orders and the future abode of the castes who completely fulfil their duties *

It is in vain, in cases of this kind, to ascribe the differences to descriptions of different processes in different Kalpas. "This explanation," it is properly stated by Mr Muir, "can only avail if the Puránas themselves declare these discrepant accounts to refer to different Kalpas. Where this is not stated, the details must naturally be understood as relating to the Kalpa now existing." Other discrepancies appear in the same Purána connected with the mind born offspring of Brahman, who are said not to have propagated and with the other nine mind born sages (really Rishis of the Védas)—Bhṛigu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Angiras, Marichi, Daksha, Atri and Vasishtha, who are said to have afterwards developed the male Svayambhuva, and the female Shataupa, and their offspring—the sons Priyaviata and Uttanapada, and the daughters Prasúti and Akúti, said to be given to Daksha and to Ruchi [reckoned in some authorities a Prajapati] † Daksha afterwards appears with a different parentage and progeny. "The illustrious prajapati Daksha, who formerly sprang from Brahman, was born of Marishá to the ten Prachétasas. This illustrious Daksha, fulfilling the command of Brahman, sunk in contemplation, with the view of creating progeny for himself, produced offspring inferior and superior."

Though the traditions, myths, and legends of this Purána thus differ from one another, they have probably been collected from older sources.

The Vishnu Purána, whatever may be its views of the origin of caste, very warmly maintains its importance, and clearly states its laws —

‘ The supreme Vishnu is propitiated by a man who observes the institutions of caste order and purificatory practices no other path is the way to please him (Here caste, it will be observed takes the precedence) Janáráddana (Vishnu) is propitiated by him who is attentive to established observances and follows the times prescribed for his caste These duties are laid down as in the Law books The Shudra however has the extended privilege (the reason of which is easily understood in the present state of Indian society) of giving presents to Brahmans and of offering funeral cakes without mantras* Brahmans though they may be forced by poverty to descend to the functions of the Shudra, ‘ must at least share the functions of the mixed classes †

The four A’shramas this Purana describes as in the Smritis The rules laid down for the personal cleanness of the Householder are exceedingly minute and absurd So are those which pertain to his domestic movements † The monthly and annual Shráddhas are to be conducted with all deference to caste and its customs The castes must not too much intermingle together “ Remaining in a place where there is too great an intermixture of the four castes is detrimental to the character of the righteous Men fall into hell who converse with one who takes his food without offering a portion to the gods sages the manes spirits and guests Let therefor a prudent person carefully avoid the conversation or the contact and the like, of those heretics who are rendered impure by their desertion of the three Vedas Let not a person treat with even the civility of speech heretics those who do forbidden acts pretended saints, scoundrels sceptics (*hautakas*), and hypocrite Intercourse with such iniquitous wretches even at a distance all association with schismatics defiles, let a man therefore carefully avoid them §

Of the passage of persons from one caste to another caste

Vishnu Purána II 8 Wilson I 30 311
I Wilson p 301 311 et

† Wilsons V 1 p 393
§ Wilsons V 1 pp 342 311

the Vishnu Purána contains some legends which will be noticed onwards in connexion with the Bhágavata

4 In the *Shiva Purana*, which has been composed for the purpose of magnifying the god of that name, it is said that Shúdras as well as the three higher castes are entitled to worship him. This is done in the temples only through the Pújá of his emblem the Linga and (subordinately his conveyance) the bull Nandi*. In the eighth chapter in which the privileges of the Bráhma, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra worshipper are brought to notice, their daily duties are summarily stated. I have already referred to the graduation in caste observances prescribed by it in the relief of nature, and the purification of the body †

In the Dharma Sanhita appended to this Purána, ‡ the clothing, feeding, and enriching of Bráhmans are held to be proper and meritorious, and the good castes are to give Dakshiná to Bráhmans, when attending readings at the temples of Shiva, and on other occasions §. The following precious information on Geography in connexion with the castes is given in the same supplement: "The land of (holy) works (karmabhumi) stretches

* This fact should be borne in mind in judging of the cave temples of Elephanta. The groups of figures on the walls are to be considered as there only for the purposes of ornament and illustration.

† See above p. 48

‡ The MSS. of this Purána in the possession of Dr. Bhau Daji and myself seem to agree with that examined by Professor H. H. Wilson. That of Dr. Bhau however has the following Sanhitás appended to it—the Vidyeshvara, Kailasa, Dharma Sanatakumara, and Váyu.

§ Dharma Sanhita, adh. xx, xxix. pp. 70, 87, 93 of Dr. Bhau's MS.

9,000 yojanas (of our kroshas or kosas) to the South of the Hemādri range. In the remote thousand yojanas of this district the Kurāṭas and Yavanas are established. In the intervening districts the Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras dwell. In the Plaksha Dvīpa, where the áchárya of the Treta Yuga prevails, and people live ten thousand years, the castes exist in excellent state. Of the other Dvipas similar marvels are told*. In this appendix as in the Purāna itself it is mentioned that the four primitive castes have the right of worshipping the Linga †

5 The *Bhagavata* Purana is *de facto* the work of greatest authority among the Hindus of the present day, especially among those of the northern, western, and eastern parts of the country. Its popularity has arisen not only from the superiority of its style, but from its exposition and advocacy of Vedānta doctrines, and from its containing, in its tenth skandha, a summary of all the legends associated with the god Krishna. Professor H. H. Wilson says of it — "The Bhāgavata is a work of great celebrity in India, and exercises a more direct and powerful influence upon the opinions and feelings of the people than perhaps any other of the Purānas" ‡. For "Purānas" here he might almost have substituted the words "sacred books," for the majority of the Brāhmans seek to interpret even the Vēdas and Upanishads according to its teachings. Its importance has been well pointed out by the learned Mons. E. Burnouf, the able translator of its first nine skandhas

* Dharma Smṛiti, adh. xxxiii

† Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. xlv

‡ Ib. xxxvii

"This Purāna," he says, "being compiled from ancient documents, has preserved much information which we cannot find elsewhere, and the genealogical lists which are in it are those which according to the opinion of such able orientalists as Jones, Buchanan, and Colbrooke, are most to be depended upon. In fine we find either entire or partial translations of the Bhāgavata in several of the common Indian dialects, such as the Tāmūl, Telugu, and the Canarese. The tenth skandha of the work has been translated into Marāṭhi. It is a principal font, too, of much of the Marāṭhi poetry. All the influence which it has acquired is in spite of its modern origin. Burnouf acquiesces in the opinion that it was composed by Vopadeva, a learned Brahman patronized by Hemādri, minister of Ramachandria, the last king but one of Devagiri, whose inscriptions, as shown by Mr. Walter Elliot, are dated towards the close of the thirteenth century of the Christian era *.

Several legendary notices of the origin of caste are found in the Bhagavata.

Two of these resemble what we have in the Purusha Sukta †. The Brahman [was] the mouth of Purusha, the Kshatriya his arms, the Vaishya sprung from the thighs, and the Shudra from the feet of Bhagvān ‡. The Brāhman is his mouth, he is Kshatriya armed, that great one Vaishya-thighed, and has the black caste abiding in his feet §. Another mystical view of the case is elsewhere presented.

Brahma who consists of the Veda (*Chhandisa*) for his own preservation created you [Brahmans] who are characterized by austerity, knowledge, devotion, and charity. For your protection the thousand

* See Burnouf's Introduction to his Bhag. Purāna which is well worthy of special study. An English translation of it is published in the Oriental Christian Spectator of Bombay for 1843.

† See b. i. re p. 118.

‡ Bhāgavata ii. 5.3.

§ Bhāgavata ii. 1.3.

footed created us [Kshatriyas] from his thousand arms the Brahman called his heart and the Kshatriya his body * An expansion of the commonly received view of the case is given in what follows —

From the mouth of Purusha O son of Kuru came the *brahman* (sacred word) and the Brahman who owing to his production from the same organ became the chief and preceptor of the castes From his arms came the *Ashuttra* (protection) The Kshatriya devoted himself to that duty and being formed from Purusha defends the castes from the injury of their enemies The arts which afford subsistence to the world sprang from the thighs of the Lord and thence was produced the Vaishya who provided the maintenance of mankind From the fear of Bhagavan sprang service for the fulfilment of duty from it was formerly produced the Shudra, with whose occupation Hari is well pleased †

A transition from caste to caste seems recognised in several passages

Prishadhra, it tells us, was guarding cows, and killed one of them by mistake, instead of a tiger which was carrying her away The family teacher cursed him though he had transgressed involuntarily to be in consequence of this deed no longer a *Kshatriya* but to become a *Shudra* ‡ This story, with variations and inconsistencies in the details is found in several of the sacred books of the Hindus “In regard to the sons of Manu, says Mr Muir we find in the Puranas the following particulars Prishadhra, the Vishnu Purana says, ‘became a *Shudra* in consequence of killing his religious teacher’s cow § In a note Professor Wilson states that there are different versions of the offence in different Puranas ‘The Vayu says he was hungry, and not only killed but ate the cow The Harivansha, too, states that Prishadhra having killed his Guru’s cow, became a *Shudra* ¶ The obvious purport of this legend and of some that follow remarks Professor Wilson, is to account for the origin of the different castes from one common ancestor ‘From Karusha (another son of Manu) sprang the Karushas of the Kshatriya caste, the protectors of the

* Ib. III. 23 2-3.

† Bhāgavata. III. 6, 30, 33. Mura's Texts I. p. 12.

‡ Bhāgavata, IX. 2 9

§ V. P. II. 1 12

¶ II. V. IX. v. 652.

Northern region, pious and devoted to duty * From Dhrishtā (another son of Manu) sprang the Dhārshtakā race of *Kshatriyas* who attained *Brāhmanhood* on earth as the Bhāgavata tells us † Another son or grandson, of Manu, was Nābhaga, who the Vishnu Purāna says, was the son of Nédishtha and became a *Vaishya* ‡ The Bhāgavata also says that 'another Nābhaga the son of Dīghā, became a *Vaishya* by his works. § The Harivansha declares that two 'sons of Nābhāgarishta, who were *Vaishyas*, became *Brāhmans*. || In the next section of the Vishnu Purāna another (?) Nābhāga is thus mentioned (Wilson p 308) The son of Nabhaga was Nābhāga, his son was Ambarīsha his son was Virūpa from him sprang Prishadashva, and from him Rathīnara On this subject there is this verse 'These persons descended from a *Kshatriya* stock, and afterwards known as Angīrasas, were the chief of the Rathīnara *Brāhmans* possessing also the character of *Kshatriyas* ¶ On this Professor Wilson annotates 'The same verse is cited in the Vayu and affords no instance of a mixture of character of which several similar cases occur subsequently *Kshatriyas* by birth became *Brāhmans* by profession and such persons are usually considered as Angīrasas as followers or descendants of Angīras whomay have founded a school of warrior priests This is the obvious purport of the legend of Nābhāga s assisting the sons of Angīras to complete their sacrifice, although the same authority (the Bhagavata Purana) has devised a different explanation On this subject that authority says 'Angīras being solicited for progeny, begot on the wife of the childless Rathīnara sons having the sanctity of *Brāhmans* These persons being born of a [*Kshatriya* s] wife but afterwards known as the sons of Angīras, were the chiefs of the Rathītaras, *Brahmans* possessing also the character of *Kshatriyas* ** Among the descendants in the 21st generation, of Ikshvāku (the most renowned of the sons of Manu) was Harita, son of Yavanashva, grandson of Ambarīsha, and great grandson of Mandhatī of whom the Vishnu Purāna says that from him sprang the Angīrasa Haritas †† On this Professor Wilson observes (V P p 369, note 3) 'The commentator explains the phrase The Angīrasa *Brāhmans*, of whom the Harita family was

* V P iv 2 2

† Bhag ix 2 1.

‡ V P iv 1 14

§ Bhag ix. 2, 23

|| H. V xl. 7 688.

¶ V P iv 2 2.

** Bhag. ix 6 2-3

†† V P iv 3 5.

the chief The *Linga* reads, 'Harita was the son of Yuvanashva, whose sons were the Haritas they were on the part (or followers) of Angiras and were *Bráhmans* with the properties of *Kshátriyas* * The *Váyu* has Harita was the son of Yuvanashva [from whom were] many called Haritas they were sons of Angiras and *Bráhmans* with the properties of *Kshátriyas* † It may be questioned if the compilers of the Puranas or their annotators knew exactly what to make of this and similar phrases The great grandfather of Harita Man dhátri himself is the author of a hymn in the *Rig Véda*. ‡

The preceding legends refer to transits in caste in the solar dynasty Similar instances are found in the *Bhá gavata*, as in other Puranas, as taking place in the lunar dynasty Indeed the *Bhagavata* speaks of there having been originally only one caste (*Varna*) "There was formerly only one *Véda*, only one utterance, the pranava (om) the essence of all speech, only one god *Narayana*, one *Agni* (fire), and (one) Caste From *Paruravas* came the triple *Véda* in the beginning of the *Tréta* age"§ This *Paruravas*, a king, is said to have had a contest with the *Brahmans*, and to have had offspring who became *Brahmans* and even *Rishis* The legends respecting this and similar matters which have been diligently collected and collated by Mr Muir|| are very inconsistent with one another, but they all testify to the fact that of old various persons, in consequence of alleged merit or demerit, passed from one caste to another

But the most important matter to notice in connexion with our subject is the unmitigated spirit of Caste, and of Brahmanical pre eminence and domination, which appears in the *Bhágavata*

* *Linga Purana*.

† *Váyu Purána*

‡ Muir's Texts i pp. 45-48.

§ *Bhagavata* ix 11, 48-49

|| Muir's Texts i pp 48-58

"The property of Bráhmans is harder of digestion than flaming fire when taken little by little much more by Kings esteeming themselves god like I do not esteem that venom to be poison for which there is an antidote The property of Brahman is real poison, of which there is no antidote in the world Poison hurts only the eater Fire may be quenched by water but the fire produced from the flint of a Bráhman consumes a tribe to its (very) root

The property of a Bráhman acquired with reluctant consent destroys three generations If taken by force it destroys the ten preceding and the ten succeeding generations The foolish Kings who blind by royal wealth covet Bráhman property do not look to hell the destroyer of themselves As many as are the grains of sand wet with tears dropping from weeping Bráhmans who are liberal givers and with families but deprived of their properties so many years are kings with their relatives who have alienated Brahman property cooked in the *kumbhupaka* hell He who carries off Brahman property given by himself or given by others is born a worm on a dunghill for sixty thousand years Let me not take possession of Bráhman property by seizing which kings have become short lived, been defeated and deprived of their sovereignty, and been born again O my followers, do not hurt a Bráhman even though he may be a delinquent Reverence him constantly though he may be a murderer (*ghnantam*) or addicted to much swearing As I devotedly bow to the Bráhmans at all times, so do you whoever does otherwise shall be punished If Bráhman property be taken even unwittingly it thrusts the holder of it down to hell as the Bráhman's cow did to Nrga *

This remains the spirit of caste till the present day

6 What passes as the *Náradī Purana* seems quite a fragmentary and modern work Professor H H Wilson says that "it is possibly a compilation of the sixteenth or seventeenth century"† Its contents are given by Professor Aufrecht in his Catalogue of the Postvedic

* Bhāgavata x. 64 8-10 This passage, with the exception of a single shloka is quoted in the Calcutta Review for 1836 Reprinted article, pp. 20 21

† Wilson's V P p. xxiii

7 In the curious conversations of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, several Caste notices occur, but generally speaking there is nothing peculiar in them.

A bird (formerly and still a learned sage) when discoursing of transmigration alludes to its birth at different periods, as a Brahman Kshatriya Vaishya and Shudra, as well as a worm brute and bird &c. In a conversation between a father and a son the precious youth traces the course of transmigration upwards—a worm a chrysalis a butterfly a beast a fly, an elephant a tree a cow a horse, a humped back accursed man, a dwarf a Chandala, a Pulkasha, a Shudra, a Vaishya a King and possibly a Brahman the highest species of mundane being §

In a reported conversation between Vishvamitra and the king Harishchandra the sage is represented as saying that 'unfulfilled promises to Brahmins are most destructive.' In a dispute between Vishvamitra and Vasishtha Brahmins says 'The Brahmin power is transcendent.'

The importance of Caste observances is thus set forth — 'A man obtains ultimate perfection (*Siddhi*) from the duties of his own caste. He does not if fallen but goes to hell on death for doing what is forbidden.' † A Brāhman discharging his duties is said to go to the abode of Brahma (*Prajāpati*), a Kshatriya, to that of Indra, a Vaisya to that of the Māruts and a Shūdra to that of the Gandharvas **

Lists of peoples and countries within the Bharatakhanda, or India

* Cat Cod Man Sans pp 8 9

+ Markandéya Purāṇa, 3.4. Rev. Kṛishna Mohana Banarjaya, ed. p. 8.

MI x U f p o

S M P : 10 86 90

4 M I 4 0 1 2 9
M I 4 38 1 8 M I 9 20 1

For a summary of these legendary

discussed in, see Mul s 10 vts vol. 1 pp 80 91

¶ M 1 u 28-J p 180

* * M. 1 m. 49 s. p. 28:

similar to those of the Ramayana and the Dig Vijaya of Arjuna in the Mahābhārata,* are given. They are somewhat confused in their arrangement and do not sufficiently distinguish between more ancient and more modern divisions and enumerations but geographically and ethnologically they are still of some use. When I finally review the Indian castes and tribes as they now exist a few of them may come under notice †

8 The *Agni Purana* notices the Castes, including those of the Anuloma and Pratiloma, but only in a general way ‡

In the *Bhaviṣya Purana*, as mentioned by Professor H. H. Wilson, there is some curious matter (in the last chapters,) relating to the *Magas*, silent worshippers of the sun, from Shakadvīpa, "as if the compiler had adopted the Persian term *Magh*, and connected it with the true worshippers of India" § This matter has been extracted by Professor Aufrecht || The Brahmins, it tells us, are in the country of the Shakas called *Magas*, the Kshatriyas, *Magasas*, the Vaishyas, *Manasas*, and the Shudras, *Mandagas*. There are no mixed castes connected with them. It has been the object of the writer to support the practice of the Hindu solar worship by that of Persia, without imposing a geographical limit to the Hindu worship. In other portions of this Purana the duties of the four primitive Castes are laid down much as in the Law Books || It extends the institution of Caste even to serpents, among which are Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras,—the serpentine Brah

* See before pp 218 19 226-28, 240 246-50 260-62, 266

† M. P. iv 5 3 64 pp 322 24

‡ Agni Purana, adh 146 fol 141 of MS of Dr Bhau Daji

§ Wilson's V. P. p xi || Cat Cod Man Sans p 53

¶ Bhaviṣya Purana, Dr Bhau Daji's MS fol 76

mans maintaining their superiority, being either white or tawny, the Kshatriyas red or yellow, the Vaishyas black or like the breast of a crow, and the Shúdras like a snake * In one portion it represents Brahma as protesting against the idea of caste being founded on mere birth. Its reasonings on this subject are somewhat similar to those of Ashva Ghosha the Buddhist. Brahmanhood it attributes to *tapa* and the *sanskáras*. Parashara, it says, was born of a female Shvápáka (dog eater), Vyasa, of a fisherman's daughter, Rushishringa, of an antelope, Mandavya, of a female frog, Vashishtha, of a courtesan, Kanáda, of an ulúka (an owl), Mandapala, of a buffalo †

9 In the portions of the *Bhavishyottara Purána* which I have seen, there is nothing worth extraction in this place. This work appears to be undetermined in its size, apocryphal additions to it being current in various parts of India.

10 The *Brahma Vavartta Purana*, which consists of the Brahma, Prakriti, Ganésa, and Krishna Khandas, has some caste notices which require attention.

In the account given in it of creation, we find the usual statement of the origin of the four principal castes. To mixed intercourse with one another, the *Varnasankaras* or those of mixed caste are (fictionally) attributed. The *Gopa* (cowherd), Barber, *Bhilla*, *Modaka*, *Kubajas*, *Támbulas*, and the *Vanikjatayah* (mercantile classes) are declared to be "pure Shúdras" ‡ The

* Bhavishya Purana, Dr Bhau Daji's MS fol 67

† Bhavishya Purána, Kalpa ix. fol 78 of MS

‡ But the *Bhilla* is in the Smṛiti of Yama (Author's MS p 4) reckoned one of the Antyaja (or one of the classes exterior by birth). See passage quoted in Goldstucker's great Dictionary, under Antyaja.

following table, formed from what follows, gives the alleged origin of the mixed classes —

<i>Caste.</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Explanation.</i>
Karana	Vaishya	Shūdra	Kāvastha
Ambastha	Vaishya	Shūdra	Physician
Malakāra	Vishvakarma	Shūdra	Gardener
Karmakāra	Vishvakarma	Shūdra	Artisan Blacksmith
Shankhūścara	Vishvakarma	Shūdra	Shell dresser
Karmilaka	Vishvakarma	Shūdra	Waver
Kumbhakāra	Vishvakarma	Shūdra	Potter
Kansakāra	Vishvakarma	Shūdra	Brasier
Sūtrakāra	Vishvakarma	Shūdra	Carpenter *
Chitrakāra	Vishvakarma	Shūdra	Painter †
Svarnakāra	Vishvakarma	Shūdra	Goldsmith ‡
Atalikakāra	Chitrakāra	Shūdra	Architect §
Kotaka	Atalikakāra	Kumbhakara	House builder
Tulakāra	Kumbhakara	Kotaka	Oilman
Tivara	Kshatriya	Rajaputra	Fisherman
Nata and Dasyu	Dhivara	Tilakara	
Malla	Nata	Dhivara	Wrestler
Kola	Nata	Dhivara	Juggler
Mātara	Nata	Dhivara	
Bhaja (i. e. Bhanu)	Nata	Dhivara	
Kalanāra	Nata	Dhivara	
Chandāla	Shūdra	Brāhman	
Charmakāra	Dhivara	Chandala	Dresser of kins
Mānsachēdi	Chandala	Charmakara	Flower
Kocha	Dhivara	Mānsachēdi	
Kāndāra	Kanurita	Kocha	
Hadhi or Duma	Nata	Chandāla	Sweeper
Vanacharas	Chandāla	Hadhi	Dwellers in the wild
Gangāputra	Nata	Tivara	Sons of the Ganges
Yogi	Vishadāra	Gangaputra	
Shundi	Vaishya	Tivara	
Paundraka	Vaishya	Shundi	
Rajaputra	Kshatriya	Karana	
Agari	Karana	Rajaputra	Maker of Salt
Kanurita	Kshatriya	Vaishya	Fisherman

The Sūtrakāra, literally "a maker of string or a worker by string, (In Marathi Sutar) gets his designation probably either from sometimes joining planks by string or from his using a string in planning or measuring. In the text he is said to have become degraded (from his position as a pure Shūdra) by the curse of a Brāhman (for refusing wood for a sacrifice)

* Also said to be degraded by the curse of a Brāhman (for his caricatures)

† Said to be degraded for stealing Brahmanical gold.

§ Degraded for his parent's

Caste	Father	Mother	Explanations.
Vyādha	Kshatriya	Sarvasva	Hunter
Śaptaputraka	Tivara	Shundi	Of Seven-Sons
Kūlara	Rishi	Br hmanī	From-a bad womb.
Vāgatita	Kshatriya	Vaishya	Forbidden by the- Voice.†
Mlec'ha	Kshatriya	Shūdra	Tribe so called.‡
Jala	Mlec'ha	Kuv'nda	Weaver ?
Sharaka	Jala	Kuv'nda	
Va dya	Ashvini Kumara	Vipra	Mantra physician
Vyālagrāhi	Va dya	Shūdra	Serpent-seizer
Rajaka	Dhivara	Tivara	Washerman.
Kāpali	I var	Rajaka	Coarse weaver ?
Sarvasv	Vāpita	Gopa	

For purposes of comparison this list is interesting. It varies considerably from the lists of Manu,§ that presented to the British Government by the Puna Brahmins,|| that given by Colebrooke in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, and that found in the Jātī Vivēka, none of which altogether agree with one another, thus tending to establish the fictional character of the Caste arrangements, especially of those connected with what have been called the Mixed Classes.

11 The *Skanda Purāṇa* seems merely a collection of Mahatmyas, Khandaśas, and Sanhitas, in praise of sacred places, and in embodiment of local legends especially connected with the god Shiva. I have already made some quotations from its *Kashī Khanda* (devoted to the glorification of Banāras) in illustration of the Brahman view of Buddhism, and from its *Sahvādri Khanda*

Begotten on the first of the days forbidden according to the course of nature

† Begotten without the consent of the mother

‡ It would appear that the authors of this Purāṇa had had a taste of the Muhammadan power before this entrance was made in it. In the text the Mlec'has are spoken of as having unboiled ears, and being fearless, invincible in fight and without *Adharma*, *Shauca*, or *Dharma*. They are said to have been begotten on forbidden day

§ See before pp 54, et seq

|| See before pp 65 et seq

(devoted to the West of India), from which I shall have again occasion to draw when reviewing the Hindu Castes as they now exist

12 In the *Varāha Purāṇa*, the decline of *Dharma*, or Religion, in the four Yugas is referred to In the first age it was of four feet in stature, in the second, of three, in the third, of two, and in the fourth, of one The proportion of religion in the Brāhman is as six, in the Kshatriya, as three, in the Vaishya, as two, and in the Shudra, as one * I have not been able to find a complete copy of the *Varāha Purāṇa* in Bombay It would appear from the contents given of it by Professor Aufrecht, that it is not unfavorable to the initiation of even Shudras † But the mantras used by Shúdras can not be those of the Védas

13 The *Linga Purāṇa*, which is the most important of those written for the glorification of the god Shiva, contains some express information about the institutions of Caste as it is regarded by the Shaiva and Smārta Sectaries

The rules which it prescribes for ablutions, sippings of water, etc correspond with those of the Smṛitis the names of Rudra and Shiva finding in the ceremonies a special place ‡

The ceremonies of the three *Sandhyas* (at morn, noon and eve) and of the five *Mahāyānas* (great sacrifices—to Brahma the gods, men disembodied spirits, and the pitris) are enjoined on all the Dvijas

In the Satyayuga, there was no distinction of caste, which commenced during the Tréta, when the áshramas were also instituted §

* *Varāha Purāṇa*, xvi 6 7 MS of the late Rev R Nesbit, p 21

† Catal Cod Manuscript Bod p 59

‡ *Linga Purāṇa* I Purvārdha 25

§ *Linga Purāṇa* : 26

In the Naga, Soma, Gandharva and Varuna regions of the Jambu dvipa, Mlenchhas and Pulindas are to be found on the eastern regions the Kirátas * on the Western the Yavanas, and in the interior, Brahmanas, Kshatriyas Vaishyas, and Shúdras. There are no castes in other dvipas †

From the mouth of *Pináki* (*Shiva* so denominated from his bow *pinaka*) proceeded the Bráhmans and Brahmá from his arms Indra Upéndra and the Kshatriyas, from his thighs the Vaishyas and from his feet the Shudras ‡. Though the origin of the Bráhman and of even Brahmá himself is here changed the Brahmanical pre eminence still continues. The *Shiva Mandala Puya* (the worship, in a lotus figured enclosure of a cubit in diameter — of a betel nut as an emblem of *Shiva*) is to be performed by Brahmanas and Kshatriyas and not by Vaishyas Shúdras and women, or through the instrumentality of Bráhmans §

14 In the *Vámana Purána*, it is said that other Bráhmans and Brahmanís, even though under the defilement of the Sutika, are not to eat with Chandalas and other low castes ||

15 The *Matsya Purána*, which consists both of Vaishnava and Shaiva material, has less connection with our subject than might have been expected

In treating of the manes it informs us that the manasa pitris, the sons of Vasishtha are worshipped by the Bráhmans that the Harish manta pitris in the region of Mártanda (the Sun), the sons of Angiras, of whom Yashodá was sprung are worshipped by the Kshatriyas that the Susvadhá pitris of the Kámádugha loka are worshipped by the Vaishyas. It is difficult to see the reason of these imaginary distinctions except in the desire to elevate the Bráhmanical favorite Vasishtha

On the position of the Pulindas and the Kirátas, according to the Hindu literature see the instructive Preface of Dr FitzEdward Hall to his edition of the *Vásavadatta*, pp 32 34. Dr H has happily undertaken to edit the new edition of Wilson's *Vishnu Purána* the first volume of which has just reached India.

† *Linga Purána* i 5º Compare this with what is said above p 433

‡ *Linga Purána* 5 9-10

§ *Linga Purána* ii. 20 i 2.

|| *Vámana Purána*, Adh xiv 79 Dr Bhau Dajís M.S. fol 29

The following story of the killing and eating of a cow to which I have referred in my First Exposure of Hinduism is curious. 'How did Kaushika's sons obtain the supreme union (*yogamuttamam*)?' In five births how did they obtain freedom from works? Suta said: There was a holy Rishi in the Kurukshetra named Kaushika. Know the names and works of his sons—Svasripa, Krodhana, Hinsra, Pishuna, Kavi, Vāgdushta, and Pitṛivartī. They were the disciples of Garga. So great a famine and drought occurred that all the people became terrified. By the order of Garga these ascetics went into a forest to feed his milch cow. Let us (said they) kill the tawny cow (for) we are in anguish from hunger. While they were thinking of this sinful work, the youngest son said if it be necessary to kill her, then accomplish it in the form of a Shrāddha. If we accomplish it in the form of a Shrāddha she will certainly save us from the sin (of killing her). All agreed to the plan of Pitṛivartī the youngest (son). He thus pleased devoted the cow to the Shrāddha and having put two of his brothers in the place of the gods and three in the place of ancestors one being a guest he himself became the performer of the Shrāddha and by means of the mantras, and the remembrance of his ancestors he performed the Shrāddha. Some one (of them) then went and said to the Guru, The cow has been killed by a tiger. The seven ascetics, through the power of the Vedic Mantras escaped the fearful effects of this cruel deed. After they became the victims of time they were born in the country of Dashārpa. The remembrance of their caste remained with them because they had acted in recognition of their Ancestors. Though the affair was a cruel one it was done in the form of a Shrāddha. They were born in the family of a cruel hunter. Though this was the case they yielded their life before Nīlakāntha (Śhiva) and by their regard for their ancestors retained their knowledge and their position as Vairāgis. In consequence of having fasted and observed the rites established for a tīrtha, the seven Yogīs became Chakravākas (Brāhmaṇa geese) on the Manasa (lake). Hear great Rishis their names and their karma (as Chakravākas). (Their names are) Sumanā, Kumantī, Buddha, Chidradarshī, Sunetrakā, Anētra, Anshumana they practised the Yoga. Three of them became breakers of the Yoga, of little mind. The story goes on to say that Pitṛivartī was born a Raja of the Panchāla and that the other three

brothers who had not broken the Yoga, became his munsters. Pitṛivartī was married to Santitī the daughter of Dévala. Pitṛivartī is afterwards represented as taking up the latter part of the story more in detail, and informing Rishikésha (Vishnu) in a dream that the devotees were at first *Vipramukhyah* (Bráhmans), then hunters deers, *chakravákas*, pure men when those who had broken the Yoga joined the Rajá as brothers penitent (for the slaughter of the cow) and then became observers of the Yoga, by which they obtained liberation, the effects of the Shraddha thus remaining*. This story is constantly drawn on by the Brahmins, at the celebration of Shraddhas.

Before leaving this Purána it may be mentioned that it contains the tradition of a flood which we have already found in the Bráhmanas,† though with variations ‡

16 In the second and third chapters of the first part of the *Kurma Purána*, there is the common account of the four primitive castes, and of the four A'shramas §

17 The *Garuda Purána* such as it is now found to be (probably mere extracts from a larger work), and reporting alleged conversations between Vishnu and his conveyancer, is much used for popular instruction in the West of India. It is generally employed in connexion with the occurrence of serious disease and of death. It treats principally of the duties of the sick, of the world of Yama, the god of death, of the torments of the different hells, and of funeral ceremonies and shraddhas. The portions of it which refer to these subjects have

* Matsya Purána, Adh xix to xx fol of MS. of B. B. R. As. Soc. 24 '96. Compare this with the Garuda Purána, Bombay edit. xiv 1 18.

† See before, p 167

‡ Matsya Purána, Adh 1-11. Of these chapters a rough translation is given in the *Oriental Christian Spectator* vol. II pp 287 8, 412-14

§ Kurma Purána, fol 6 7 of Dr Bhau Dáj's MS

lately been lithographed in Bombay The matters relating to caste which it notices are the following —

The party making a promise of giving anything to a Bráhmaṇ which he does not fulfil, or who calls him to get something which he does not impart, is consigned to the river Vaitaraṇi (of hell) * The Bráhmaṇ who sells juices (*rasa*) who becomes the keeper (*patr*) of a *vrishali*, who kills animals without the sacrifices prescribed in the Vedas, who falls from the work of the Brahma and eats flesh or drinks spirits, who is of a furious disposition, who does not study the commands of the Shastras, the Shúdra who reads the Védas who drinks the milk of a tawny cow,† who wears the Bráhmaṇical thread, who is the keeper of a Bráhmaṇi, who lusts for the wife of a Kshatriya, who carries off the wife of any other person, who has desires for his own daughter, and who reproaches a pure woman and those who do what is forbidden, and who do not what is commanded, fall into Vaitaraṇi ‡ The Bráhmaṇ who seats a Dásí on his couch goes to hell and who raises offspring from a Shúdra woman falls from Brahmanism Such a wicked Bráhmaṇ is not worthy of salutation They who do not worship Shiva, Shívá (his wife), Hari (Viṣṇu), Surya Gaṇesha,§ and a Sadguru go to hell They who do not perform puja (material worship) undoubtedly go to hell They who do not forbid the quarrels of Bráhmaṇs and the fighting of cows but excite them go to hell They who make weapons, and bows and arrows, and who sell them go to hell Vaishyas who sell skins and women who sell hair, and those who sell poison, go to hell They who do not give cooked food to a mendicant Bráhmaṇ coming to their house go to hell || The slayer of a Brahman becomes (in hell) possessed of the disease of consumption the killer of a cow becomes hump backed the killer of a daughter becomes a leper When these persons get another birth,

* Garuḍa Purāṇa, iv 17 Bombay Ed

† Tawny cows are to be given to Brahmanas. Gar Pur viii 60

‡ Gar Pur iv 20 23

§ These are the gods of the *Panchayatana* (pentad) as e.g. found in the new temple near * Branch Candy (ohn *Bury Khujá* the Pass of the Tower) in the Island of Bombay

|| Gar. Pur iv 36 44.

(after undergoing their punishments in hell), they become *Chándālas*. The killers of women and of a foetus become diseased in hell, and are next born as *Pulindas*. He who has intercourse with forbidden women becomes a eunuch, and he (who has intercourse) with the wife of his guru gets a bad skin. He who eats flesh gets a bloody looking skin. The drinker of spirits gets black teeth. The *Brahman* who eats things not to be ate, gets a huge belly*. The *Brahman* who forgets the *Gayatri* and who does not perform *Sandhyā*, and who with a bad disposition within, appears good without becomes a *Baka* (small white heron) †. Giving gifts (of land) to a *Brahman* has the merit of giving a thousand cows and he who takes the (landed) property of a *Brahman*, becomes a monkey (in a future birth) ‡.

The setting of bulls loose, for religious consecration for which the high technical term of *vrishabhotsarga* has been devised is to be regulated in its own way by the different castes. The bull thus given by a *Brahman* must be of qualities rarely occurring (and consequently rarely requiring from him the gift)—of red eyes, neck, horns, and hoofs and with a white belly and black back that given by a *Kshatriya* should be sleeky, and of a red colour that by a *Vaishya*, of a yellow colour and that by a *Shūdra*, of a black colour §.

The *Sutaka* (period of impurity from birth or death) is limited to ten days for all sorts of persons in the *Kali Yuga* ||.

The *Brahmans*, *Vaishyas*, and *Shūdras*, etc who do not perform funeral ceremonies (*pretakriyā*), are like *Chándālas* ¶.

17 What has been said by Professor H. H. Wilson about the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna* is correct. The first portion of it, as stated by him, is taken from the *Vāyu*. The second (*Uttara Khanda*), as he supposed, is found in the *Dakhan*, a copy of it belonging to Dr. Bhāu Dājī.

|| Gar. Pur. v. 85.

† Gar. Pur. v. 18. In verses 37-44 we have an account of the indigestibility of *Brahmans* property similar to what has been already quoted from the *Bhāgavatā* (p. 438, above).

‡ Gar. Pur. v. 48.

§ Gar. Pur. xii. 22-23.

|| Gar. Pur. xii. 19. Compare this with p. 378, above.

¶ Gar. Pur. xvii. 4.

being now before me To this unsatisfactory work there are appended a great many extravagant and lying *Mahatmyas* of so called sacred places, etc In the Uttara Khanda now mentioned, there is a list of the eighteen Purāṇas, among which the name of the Devī bhāgavata appears as the fifteenth *

The merit of the feeding of Brāhmans (even of thousands at a time) and the employing of them for various services in connexion with diseases and propitiations, etc, is distinctly set forth in it as in other works † In a dialogue about a sacrifice, attributed to Agastī and another speaker, various modern personages are referred to by name, as Rāmānanda and Shankarācharya † The Karhāṭaka or Karhāṭa Brahmins (whom we shall soon have occasion to notice) are denounced in it as produced from the bones of camels, and said to be accursed in their origin and practices ‡ It is probably the production of some of the Deshashtha Brāhmans, whose antipathy to the Karhāṭas is well known

19 The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, which in the Purāṇika lists is often substituted for the *Shiva*, is considered, and probably correctly so, by Professor H H Wilson, to be the oldest work of its class He had seen only its first half

It is said in it that Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shūdras existed in the Trēta Yuga without the distinctions of honour of the later times The Kshatriyas are said to have got their name from *trana* preservation, and the Shūdras to have been brought to their present state from their residing near burning grounds, and from their

* Brahmandā Purāṇa (Uttara Khanda), Adh xi

† Brahmandā Pur Adh iv

‡ Brahmandā Pur Adh xi

deficient heroism The duties of the four castes are stated in the usual way The *sthāna* (resting place) of the *Brahmans* is said to be *Prajāpati*, of the *Kshatriyas* *Indra* of the *Vaishyas*, *Marut* and of the *Shudras*, the *Gandharvas* * Defilements are treated of much as in the Law Books †

The examination of the Purānas with a view to the objects of this work has convinced me that, as already hinted, the Law Books (to which the Purānas not unfrequently refer by name) are still considered the great authorities on the subject of Caste, though doubtless, in many instances (the most important of which we may yet have an opportunity of noticing), a usage in many parts of India has been gradually established,—especially by provincial prejudice, by the spread of sectarianism, by foreign conquest, and by national deterioration on the one hand, and progress on the other,—which is not altogether consistent with their teachings

As the Purānas are the latest works recognized as of an authoritative character by the Hindus, I do not think it necessary for the objects of this work to refer here specially to the *Upapurānas*, *Tantras*, and *Mystical* and *Sectarian* works in the hands of sections of the people The gleanings on the subject of Caste, which can be made from them, are neither numerous nor important I proceed to the consideration of Caste as it now exists in the Indian life, taking such a general review as I find practicable, of the Castes and Tribes as they are now presented to our view throughout the wide extent of the Indian territories It will be seen from our survey of them, that they are both numerous and diversified,

and in many instances irreconcilably hostile to one another, and that, in the view of their actual state, to speak of an 'Indian community' is almost an impropriety of speech. This remark is made with the full admission of the fact that a common understanding exists among large portions of the people of India about the subordination of the more common castes, and about the social and religious rank which their members,—independent of power, wealth, and employment,—still occupy. To what is called the "Confusion of Castes," the natives constantly appeal as a proof of the advance of the Kali Yuga. Their views of this matter they are not able to reconcile with the palpable growth of India in general enlightenment, and in physical and mechanical resources, and with the good order and peace generally prevailing throughout its extensive provinces.

END OF VOLUME FIRST

